China's na^{53} mʑi^{53} Tibetan Life, Language, and Folklore: Volume One

ཀྲུང་གོའི་ཎ་སྨུ་ཞིའི་བོད་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བ། སྐད་དང་དམངས་ཁྲོད་རིག་གནས་ཁག་དང་པོ།



by

Libu Lakhi

with

Tseringbum and Charles Kevin Stuart

Asian Highlands Perspectives

This remarkable book is the product of fruitful collaboration between a native speaker of the na^{53} mʑi^{53} language, Tibetan and Chinese consultants, and a dedicated group of Westerners resident in China. It affords the reader an intimate glimpse into traditional na^{53} mʑi^{53} life, now well on its way to disappearing along with hundreds of similar minority cultures in the world. The authors are to be



congratulated for putting na^{53} mʑi^{53} language and culture 'on the map' in such a clear and respectful fashion.

James A Matisoff

Asian Highlands Perspectives 2A

ISSN 1835-7741

5 800041 775036

China's na^{53} mʑi^{53} Tibetans: Life, Language and Folklore Volume One

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中国纳木依藏族：生活，语言与民间文学 第一卷

by

Libu Lakhi (Li Jianfu 李建富, Dawa Tenzin ཟླ་བ་བསྟན་འཛིན།)

with

Tsering Bum ཚེ་རིང་འབུམ། and Charles Kevin Stuart

Dedicated to Andrew Sewell and Lorraine de Beaufort

ISSN: 1835-7741

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008944256

Published by *Asian Highlands Perspectives*.

Front Cover: Photo by Libu Lakhi. Libu Lakhi's home with rice field in the foreground, dzə̢^{11} qu^{11} (Dashui 大水) Village, Xichang 西昌 City, Liangshan 凉山 Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan 四川 Province.

Back Cover: Photo by Libu Lakhi. A valley in Mu'er 木耳 Village, Lianhe 联合 Township, Mianning 冕宁 County, Liangshan 凉山 Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan 四川 Province.

Citation: Libu Lakhi (Li Jianfu 李建富, Dawa Tenzin ཟླ་བ་བསྟན་འཛིན།) with Tsering Bum ཚེ་རིང་འབུམ། and Charles Kevin Stuart. 2009. *China's na^{53} mz̢i^{53} Tibetans: Life, Language and Folklore. Volume One.* (*Asian Highlands Perspectives* Volume 2A). Xining City: Plateau Publications.

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Part Three: Texts <67-310>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank the following people for helping make this book possible:

Blo rtan rdo rje བློ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ།
Brook Hefright
Chen Qiang 陈 强
Gerald Roche
Jeff Green
Keith Dede
Keith Slater
Krisadawan Hongladarom
Mgon po tshe ring མགོན་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་།
Snying lcags rgyal སྙིང་ལྕགས་རྒྱལ།
Solomon Rino
Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈

LANGUAGE CONSULTANTS

li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53} (Li Caifu), male, b. 1945, Libu Lakhi's father, was born in a rich landlord family in li^{44} ʙu^{55} tʙu^{11} Village, Minsheng Township, Lizhou Town, Xichang City, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. He never attended school. He married at the age of sixteen and has spent his entire life hunting in nearby mountains in winter, farming and herding. He is fluent in Nuosu (Yi) and did not experience difficulty in communicating in Sichuan Chinese Dialect while visiting relatives in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County in 1965. His contributions to this volume were collected by Libu Lakhi at his pasture bungalow with Libu Lakhi's elder brother, Jiujin,[A] present.[B]

mbz̩ə^{44} m̩^{55}, female, b. 1943, Libu Lakhi's mother, was born and lived in ka^{11} p^{h}æ^{11} tʙu^{11} Village, near dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village until she married at about the age of eighteen. She attended a local primary school for two years. She confided, "My parents didn't give me permission to attend school so I told them that I was going to work in the field, then I hid my mattock behind a grave and went to register. Later, when they learned what I was doing, they allowed me to continue." She is fluent in Nuosu. She had some difficulty in communicating in Chinese when traveling to Xichang City. Her stories were recorded by Libu Lakhi at their home in dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village while his siblings watched TV in another room.

li^{44} ʙu^{55} ndzə^{53} t^{h}ʙu^{11}, male, b. 1938, li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53}'s elder brother, was born in li^{44} ʙu^{55} tʙu^{11} Village, located on the upper area of a mountain slope, where the li^{44} ʙu^{55} Clan settled and dwelt for fifteen years before moving to today's dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village. He was the leader of dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village for almost fifteen years. He was unable to attend school after obediently marrying a^{44} ma^{55} do^{53} dz̩ə^{53} as his parents requested and arranged, even though the government paid fifty RMB each year to students. His five sons and elder daughter are married and have their own homes in dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village. He is fluent in the Sichuan Chinese Dialect and in Nuosu. He speaks na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} to fellow villagers who are classified by the government as Tibetan and, while at home, to his youngest daughter.

[A] Jiujin = four and a half kilograms at birth. Many parents weigh a child when it is born and the child is given a name according to the weight.

[B] All consultants are classified as Tibetan and all speak na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} as their first language. 'na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}' is the term used by the na^{53} mʑi^{53} for their own language. (People from Luoguodi County also say 'na^{53} ʂa^{44}'.)

a^{44} ma^{55} do^{53} dzə̧^{53}, female, b. 1941, mbzə̧^{44} m̩^{55}'s elder sister, was born in ka^{11} p^{h}æ^{11} tʙu^{11} Village. She never attended school. She herded livestock before marrying li^{44} ʙu^{55} ndzə^{53} t^{h}ʙu^{11} and moving to dzə̧^{11} qu^{11} Village. She is fluent in Nuosu and has some competency in Sichuan Chinese Dialect.

lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44}, male, b. 1936, Libu Lakhi's distant relative, was born in Mu'er Village and now lives in Zhuangzi Village, Lianhe Township, Mianning County. He is fluent in Nuosu and Sichuan Chinese Dialect.

PREFACE

James A Matisoff

This remarkable book is the product of a fruitful collaboration among a native speaker of na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11}, Tibetan and Chinese consultants, and a dedicated group of Westerners resident in China. It affords the reader an intimate glimpse into traditional na^{53} mʑi^{53} life, now well on its way to disappearing along with hundreds of similar minority cultures in the world.

In Part One we learn something about the extraordinary biography of the central character in this enterprise, a polyglot na^{53} mʑi^{53} man called Libu Lakhi (also known as Li Jianfu in Chinese, Dawa Tenzin in Tibetan and Zachary in English), whose inspiring pursuit of education has involved the acquisition of four Sino-Tibetan languages (na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11}, Yi Nuosu, Tibetan, Chinese), as well as English.

Part Two of the volume (*Introduction*) contains short essays on aspects of na^{53} mʑi^{53} life and culture. Especially interesting are accounts of the elaborate New Year's celebrations, and the section on Engagement and Marriage, where we hear the sad story of Libu Lakhi's sister Sanjin's attempts to avoid an arranged marriage.

The heart of the book is Part Three (*Texts*), which consists of eleven texts, presented in an ingenious format. Each na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11} sentence is given word-by-word glosses in English, Tibetan and Chinese, with each word occupying a separate cell in a table; this is followed by connected translations in each of the three languages. These interlinear presentations are followed by separate fluent translations in each glossing language, with additional material inserted to clarify points omitted by the speaker since they were taken for granted by their original na^{53} mʑi^{53} audience. These stories, with their often wild and fantastic narrative motifs, will be of great interest to folklorists. A couple of them are origin myths reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's *Just So Stories*, where the purpose was to 'explain' why some phenomenon in the world is the way it is (e.g., how the leopard got his spots, how the camel got his hump, how the rhinoceros got his skin). Thus the story 'Two Sisters' offers an explanation for why our fingers are of uneven length. The story 'Rabbit Father-in-law' ends with a motif very much like the Abraham and Isaac story, where a man is asked to slaughter his own son to show his loyalty, but is stopped at the last minute once it is clear he is actually going to do the deed.

Finally, we have a *Glossary* of na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11} words, followed by such useful appendices as the Swadesh list in na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11}, charts of na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11} consonants and vowels, pronouns and numerals. Finally a table of resemblant words in na^{53} mʑi^{53} kʰa^{11} tʰo^{11} and Nuosu Yi is given, although no attempt is made to distinguish borrowings from genuine cognates.

Complementing this volume are a number of audiovisual materials available for free download, including 'photo albums' (http://picasaweb.google.com/libulakhi) with nearly 250 images of na^{53} mʑi^{53} people, landscapes, crops, artifacts and crafts, as well as audio files of all eleven texts

- http://www.archive.org/details/NamyiFolktales--audioFiles1-10OfElevenFolkloreAccounts
- http://www.archive.org/details/NamyiFolktales--audioFiles11OfElevenFolkloreAccounts
- http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/music/namyi/.

Given the phonetic complexity of na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, the clear voice of the speaker in the audio files is a great help, particularly in the realm of intonation. Video materials on various aspects of na^{53} mʐi^{53} culture (a ritual for calling the soul back, sacrificing to the ancestors and sacrificing to the deities) may also be viewed at http://e-asia.uoregon.edu/easia/nufound.cfm.

The number of speakers of na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} has been estimated at about 5,000, which places it firmly in the category of endangered languages. The sociolinguistic situation in na^{53} mʐi^{53} villages is rapidly changing, with code-switching and macaronic mixtures with Chinese now rampant among the younger generation. Traditional customs are in rapid decline. When Libu Lakhi returned to his home in January 2006 to celebrate New Year's with his family, he found his eldest brother sprawled in front of the TV watching sitcoms instead of supervising the complex ritual preparations for the holiday.

The death of a language is an immeasurable loss, much worse than the loss of an animal species. It is a loss, first and foremost, to the culture of its former speakers, but also, from the more selfish point of view of the linguist, language death puts the ultimate quietus on intellectual curiosity. Many languages with relatively tiny numbers of speakers have furnished precious evidence for the reconstruction of ancient phonological and grammatical features. Any dying language might take the answers to many questions with it to the grave. Yet we may well ask whether it is even advisable or beneficent to try to maintain non-viable languages artificially, such as by trying to educate a new generation of children in a minority language that their elders are already abandoning. Is that really more kind or humane than trying to keep a mortally ill patient alive by heroic surgical interventions or multiple organ transplants? From a practical economic point of view, it is much more advantageous for a young person who comes from an endangered speech community to acquire mastery of a more robust language as early as possible, preferably the language of the majority culture (Matisoff 1991).

Part of the answer might lie in the multilingual capacity of human beings, nowhere more in evidence than in Southeast Asia. Perhaps the decline of certain minority languages can be slowed by 'language revitalization' projects, involving the preparation of better learning materials, the creation of practical orthographies and the coining of technical neologisms needed to keep pace with the modern world. Under favorable circumstances such projects might result in the coexistence of minority and dominant languages for the foreseeable future, each operating in its own sociolinguistic sphere, e.g., na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} for use in the home and village, and Chinese, Tibetan or Yi in the wider world.

na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} seems definitely to be a Qiangic language, though its genetic affiliation is complicated by a fair amount of contact with Yi (Nuosu).[A] To some extent, na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} shows the typical Qiangic development of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *-a to -i (Matisoff 2004):

[A] A Naxi linguist of my acquaintance claims that na^{53} mʐi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} is mutually intelligible with Naxi, but this seems to be a wild exaggeration.

	PTB	*na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$*
'child/son'	*za	ʐi^{53}
'hear'	*gla	gi^{53}
'mother'	*ma	a^{44}mi^{55}
'rain'	*rwa	hĩ^{53} [4]
'rightside'	*ra ≶ *ya	ji^{44}
'snow'	*wa	vi^{11}
'soul'	*hla	rə^{53} hĩ^{53}[A, B]

Sometimes, especially after a palatal glide, the na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$ reflex of *-a is -ə:

	PTB	*na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$*
'eat'	*dzya	dzə^{53} ≶ ndʐə^{11} (but also *dza^{11}* 'meal/food')
'field'	*hya	rə^{53}
'meat'	*sya	ʂə^{11}
'be many/propagate'	*mya	bʐə^{11}

There remain a few exceptions, where *-a remains na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$ -a, but these seem all to be grammatical words (functors), which often display idiosyncratic phonological developments:[C]

	PTB	*na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$*
'1st person pronoun'	*ŋa	ŋa^{44}
'interrogative'	*ka	qha^{53}
'negative'	*ma	ma^{44}
'negative imperative'	*ta	$t^{h}a^{44}$

The authors of this book are to be congratulated for putting na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$ and na^{53} mʐi^{53} culture 'on the map' in such a clear and respectful fashion.

[A] It is not clear which of the two na^{53} mʐi^{53} $k^{h}a^{11}$ $t^{h}o^{11}$ syllables descends from the PTB etymon.

[B] Another possible example is 'God/supreme spirit': PTB *way-*sya* > Nʐ. *ɕi^{53}* vi^{53}, with the order of the syllables reversed (see Matisoff 1985).

[C] na^{53} mʐi^{53} ja^{53} 'tobacco' is a loan from Tai (probably via Yi); cf. Siamese *jaa^{33}* 'medicine; tobacco'.

PART ONE: LIBU LAKHI

MATERNAL GRANDFATHER

Local custom dictated that Mother's father (b. 1917), the seventh of seven sons of a family living in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, which currently borders Xichang City in southern Sichuan Province, was to be taken atop a mountain, killed, chopped into pieces and fed to vultures when he reached the age of twenty. To avoid this, he fled when he was about eighteen years old and came to the place where we live today—dʐə̩^{11} qu^{11} Village. Grandmother's parents allowed her to marry him and he supported the family as a carpenter.

"He had to walk at night and he had to swim across big strong rivers. And he just walked, not knowing where he was going," Mother said.

"Why didn't he walk during the daytime?" I asked.

"It was dangerous. He was being followed," Mother explained.

Grandfather told me that returning to his original home would have been very difficult because it was far away and the path he had taken was not a direct one.

LIBU LAKHI'S FAMILY

I was born in a poor family of farmers in 1981. There are nine people in my family. I have three elder brothers, one elder sister, a younger sister and a younger brother.[A] They are all farmers. We ate and worked together when I lived at home. It was the largest and happiest family in our village. Many admired the fact that our family had so many children.

Slowly my parents began arranging marriages for us. This went well, except for my younger sister and for me. I describe what happened to both of us in detail elsewhere in this book.

EDUCATION

VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL. In early September 1988 I started my education at the three-grade dʐə̩^{11} qu^{11} Primary School. Father took me to school with fifteen RMB on the first day. I was frightened to meet so many strangers.

Two men taught in that school. One Nuosu man taught math. The other was Han and taught the Chinese language. The Nuosu teacher called the students' names and gave them new books. The teacher and students were speaking in Nuosu. I understood nothing. The Nuosu teacher brought my new books to me because I had no Chinese name. He pointed at three Chinese characters on the first empty page of my new book and taught me how to pronounce them. I repeated slowly after him—Li Jianfu. Afterwards, that was my name—Li Jianfu—the name that all the students and teachers used for me.

[A] Li Xiaolong (b. 1967), Li Bajin (b. 1973), Li Jiujin (b. 1978), Jabu (b. ~1984) and Sanjin (b. 1986).

There were twenty-five students, including five na^{53} mʑi^{53} children, in that class. We studied math in Nuosu and Chinese in Sichuan Chinese Dialect. I learnt almost nothing at that time except fluent Nuosu from being with Nuosu classmates.

Sometimes, we dug a hole under the back door of the classroom and escaped while the teacher guarded the front door and forced us to memorize Chinese texts.

I quickly learned to communicate in Nuosu at school and did so, except when I was with the na^{53} mʑi^{53} students. I also lost the idea that there was only one language that everybody spoke throughout the world.

One day, my Nuosu teacher told me to come to the blackboard and calculate the result of one plus one. I knew neither Chinese nor Nuosu well enough to be able to say, "One plus one equals two." The Nuosu teacher became enraged, grabbed me by the hair and beat my head against the blackboard. When I returned home with chalk dust in my hair, my parents calmly said, "It doesn't matter. The teacher did this because he is concerned about you and is trying to help you learn." I believed my parents and continued to attend school.

Several days later, I left school with some Nuosu students after classes were over. Not far from school they grabbed me, took off my hat with a long stick and threw it into the river. I cried and ran along the river but I could not get my hat out of the water.

Afterwards, whatever happiness that had come from attending school was clouded by scolding from the Nuosu teachers, being beaten by Nuosu students and being insulted because I was na^{53} mʑi^{53}. For these reasons, I stopped going to school for a year and helped my parents at home. Still, I was envious when I saw other children laughing and shouting as they headed for school. Finally, I asked my parents to let me return to school.

TOWNSHIP PRIMARY SCHOOL. After I finished Grade Three in the village school, I went to Grade Four in the Minsheng Township Primary School with my elder brother who is two years older than me. My parents soon stopped him from attending school however, because he gambled away his food tickets. This was a boarding school so I had to leave home and experienced homesickness for the first time.

Students exchanged rice and dried radish leaves for soup and food tickets for our two daily meals a day. Seven to ten students slept together on a single bamboo platform.

We learnt math and Chinese in the Han language, which was my biggest challenge. Twelve teachers taught five classes to a total of 200 students. Most students were Nuosu, except for fifteen Han students and five na^{53} mʑi^{53} students.

MIDDLE SCHOOL. My parents encouraged me to go to middle school and in 1996, I graduated from Minsheng Primary School, passed the entrance examination and then attended Xichang Nationalities Middle School. This also marked the time when I began to speak Nuosu and Chinese as well as native speakers. This was one reason why I was happier than in primary school.

There were only three na^{53} mʑi^{53} students in the school and we stayed together much of the time. As graduation approached, I registered for the entrance examination to the Sichuan Tibetan Language School in Kangding. My relatives were all infuriated by this. They argued that the school was far away, that I had no relatives there and that learning Tibetan was useless because it would not lead to a job. They also reminded me that I was engaged and that it was time for me to marry and establish a family like my elder brothers.

This was a difficult situation for me as an eighteen year old. If I had obeyed them, they would have been happier and had an easier life but I would have been tied down and forced to work hard, like my elder brothers. I also thought that my life would be as meaningless as that of my previous generations—poor education and no modern skills would lead to another generation of poverty and discrimination by those around us.

I repeatedly explained everything to my parents and finally they sadly agreed that I could attend the school in Kangding.

SICHUAN TIBETAN LANGUAGE SCHOOL. I entered the school in Kangding in June 1999. In my mind, I had conjured a mysterious, special school. Even though I had always been classified as, and imagined myself as belonging to the Tibetan ethnic group, I was surprised by everything, as I approached a culture that--despite being given the same official classification--was very different from my own. Reality proved to be very different from what I had imagined. The first night after I arrived at the welcome reception for new students, I was amazed when I heard a teacher, a monk and a school leader talking in Tibetan. I understood nothing they said. The monk wore a cassock and was bareheaded. This was my first encounter with anything Buddhist. I realized then that the religion of this culture was not about mountain deities or ɕi^{53} vi^{53}.[A]

I was placed in a special class for ethnic Tibetans who did not speak, read or write Tibetan. On the second day a short, fat man entered our classroom, put a huge Tibetan robe around me, showed me how to wear it and said in Sichuan Chinese Dialect, "You must wear this and dance every day at noon like the other students." I was very nervous at that moment but never forgot the feeling of closeness as he helped me put on the Tibetan robe. It made me recall my mother helping me put on clothes when I was a little child. He was my Tibetan language teacher for the next four years.

My ideas began to change. Earlier I had thought that all Tibetans spoke the same language, wore the same type of clothes, ate the same foods and so on. I was very upset and disappointed with the real situation. Our special class was discriminated against by certain Tibetan students. One afternoon, I found a classmate from Shimian County sobbing when I entered the classroom.

"What happened?" I asked.

"They said I am not Tibetan," she replied, rubbing away tears from her cheeks with her right hand.

"Who are they?" I asked sadly.

"The students in the painting class. I heard them say that I looked like a Han when I passed by their classroom door," she said.

Later, some schoolmates asked me why I could not speak Tibetan. I replied I did speak Tibetan but it was different from their Tibetan. However, I wondered if I was Tibetan and where I belonged whenever I couldn't understand what my Tibetan teacher was saying in class. I did not know why I had such thoughts. I realized that many of my ideas were very childish and I knew that I must be strong. I also decided that I must take care of myself. The school tuition was 2,000 RMB a year. Each month I needed another 120 RMB for food. In total, I needed about 3,000 RMB yearly. At that time, our school had a rule that students could receive

[A] For more on ɕi^{53} vi^{53}, see the section on na^{53} mʑi^{53} religion.

one hundred to 2,000 RMB based on the final semester study results. I decided that I must study hard to receive the 2,000 RMB and that if I worked during the holidays, I would make enough to pay for my food.

During holidays, I telephoned my family and said, "Don't worry about me. All of my teachers and classmates are very kind to me. I will stay with my teachers and study. I don't need money now." My parents believed whatever I said. It was the first time I lied to them.

After classes stopped, I worked with Han people in Kangding digging foundations for new buildings. I worked eight hours and was paid twenty RMB each day. During work time, I did not dare raise my head to look around. If I did, then I would hear, "Get away! You! Such a little student! You don't know how to work…" from the boss, who constantly watched us. I was worried I would lose my job and then lack money for my food when school started. I was always patient and careful about everything in the work place, even when the supervisor was absent.

Everyday, I brought *rtsam pa* 'roasted barley flour', which was given to me by one of my Tibetan teachers and a bowl so I could have a cheap lunch during the noon to two-thirty p.m. break time. I went to the site watchman's hut, kneaded *rtsam pa* with his hot tea, ate and then napped on a long bench nearby. Sometimes, if he got angry or if there were too many workers in his hut, I had no choice but to find another place where there were no people to have lunch. Cold water did not melt the butter that was mixed with the barley flour and I could not swallow much *rtsam pa* without butter, but I still had to work, regardless of how little I ate.

I returned to school after two months and learned that I had earned the highest marks in my class.

CARING FOR UNCLE DENZIN. At the end of the following semester, I worked again as before. This time, I stayed with an old Tibetan man I called Uncle Denzin in our school's small, cheap hotel, which had twelve rooms and two floors. It was mainly for students' parents occasional visits. Uncle Denzin cared for the hotel at that time. My stay with him was arranged by a teacher who said, "You can stay with him and take care of him." Of course, I was very happy that I had a free place to stay during the summer holiday. I nodded in agreement and carried my belongings to the hotel after classes stopped.

At first, I knew nothing about him and tried my best to care for him, in addition to working full-time. He panted when he walked or worked for a couple of minutes. I started work at eight o'clock every morning. I got up at six, cooked and put the food in an electric warmer because he could not cook for himself, for I did not return until the curtain of dark night fell. I finished work at six p.m. and it was seven p.m. by the time I walked back to our school from downtown Kangding.

I saw him sitting by the door, waiting for me when I returned from work. I started cooking as soon as I arrived. I was sympathetic and treated him as well as I could. Fortunately, he could relieve himself, but I always went with him at night if I woke up.

Day after day, I went to work in the morning and returned late in the evening. He stayed at home and waited for my return. I do not know what he did during the daytime. We only had time to chat a little at night, but I was tired; every part of my body ached. I usually went to bed as soon as I got out of my dirty work clothes and washed.

"Why are you so late!" he demanded one evening when I returned. "I'm hungry and I can't do anything!" he said, angrily banging the cleaver into the chopping board with his right

hand. I was afraid he would throw the cleaver at me. I explained that the boss did not let me go until late. He calmed down after some minutes of complaining.

Later, he told me that he had returned to China from Nepal and had come to live in the school according to the local government's arrangement. He also told me he had no relatives except for a brother in Switzerland. Every day, I was exhausted after returning from work and I didn't ask questions. That is all I know about him.

One night, he came to the room I stayed in. He said his illness was worse. I suggested that we call the school headmaster but he refused.

I did what I had to do. I brought his bed into my room, and helped him get in. At midnight I was awakened by "*A-yo*—! *A-yo*—!" I was frightened, got up and turned on the light. His upper body was on the floor. His lower body was on the bed. I hurriedly picked him up and put him back in bed. I asked what had happened. He said he had wanted to go relieve himself and had tried to get up but he was too weak and had fallen. He said he had called to me for half an hour but there was no reply. I apologized. I explained that I had been too tired to wake up.

I helped him relieve himself and then put him back in bed. I lay down and tried to sleep again, but I could not. The image of what had just happened stayed in my head. I wondered what would happen if I did not wake up again in the night. I was afraid. I worriedly listened to his breathing. Sometimes, I stopped breathing for I heard a strange sound from under my bed. Maybe it was mice. I was truly afraid. I did not fall asleep again that night. Then at six a.m. I got up, cooked breakfast for both of us and then went to work as usual.

His eyes were set deep in a very swollen face when I returned. I went to the home of the teacher who had introduced me to Uncle Denzin. I described Uncle Denzin's swollen face and everything that had happened the night before. The teacher came over, spent some times with us and then left. Uncle Denzin's illness steadily worsened. I had to spoon-feed him and assist him in relieving himself. He could only eat barley soup and drink butter tea.

The school headmaster came in his private black car with the teacher one afternoon. The school headmaster asked me to continue to care for Uncle Denzin in the hospital. Though sympathetic, I refused because I thought of him falling out of bed and I understood how ill he was.

"It is not the hard and heavy work you did before. You can also study. We can't find a suitable person to do this job now because it is during the vacation," the school headmaster said, looking at me. I thought that since he was the leader of the teachers, I should obey. Finally, I agreed and went to hospital with them.

I still had 200 RMB that I had earned from working and I used this to buy our food, though he could only eat a little.

Our room had eight patients. Eight people took care of them. There were only eight beds for the patients and only eight chairs. At night, I sat in a chair and tried to sleep, as did the others, but I never really slept deeply.

My tired eyes seemed only to see white. Gradually, I came to hate white—the white clothes of the hospital workers. I hated the hospital smell.

Time passed and Uncle Denzin and I became closer and friendlier—an arrangement dictated by the special environment of the white hospital.

I helped him urinate in a bucket. Assisting him defecate was difficult. I supported him with one hand while holding the drip bottle above his head. He could not stand or sit by himself.

I was unhappy. Where were his relatives? Why had no one come to care for him? How wonderful if he could be cured and then he would not say "This devil illness," again and again everyday.

"Our school is going to start again tomorrow. They said they would find someone else to care for you. Don't worry, your illness will be cured soon," I said politely, sitting by his bed one night.

"No. Who will come to care for me as you have?" he said in a worried, disappointed tone.

I tried my best to comfort him and made more conversation that night. "Oh— Oh— I need to relieve myself..." It was five a.m. I got up, rubbed my eyes with my left hand and turned the light on as usual. He did not move when I touched him. I did not understand. I called his name repeatedly. I went to the nurses' room and knocked on the door as hard as possible with my fists. A nurse angrily opened the door. I did not know what to say, I just pulled her into our ward.

"Your patient is hopeless. Is he your father? Quickly, telephone your relatives!" she said after checking his pulse. She pulled the white quilt over him and left immediately.

Onlookers in the ward moved away. I could not believe what had just happened. I stared at the white bed. I pulled back the white quilt again and patted his cheeks. I thought he was still alive and called his name again and again, but there was no answer.

What was the difference between life and death? I did not understand how quickly a person died.

I rushed out of the hospital to dial our school headmaster's number, but no shops were yet open. I had no idea what to do. I went back and sat beside him in silence. I pitied him. I did not feel frightened, maybe because of the friendship that we had built up over two months, but I was uncomfortable.

I went out again and beat on a shop door loudly. The shopkeeper angrily opened the door. I dialed the headmaster and told him the old one was gone. He said he was very sorry to hear this and that he would come soon. I returned and waited by the corpse. I felt there was no meaning for a person to live in the world.

After thirty minutes, our school headmaster arrived with some other teachers and a monk. I undressed the corpse and wrapped it in white fabric after the monk chanted scriptures. They carried the corpse back to the small hotel to do more religious activities. I moved back to my dorm room that morning.

I was in the classroom with my classmates the first day of the new semester. The school headmaster's black car rolled by the window of our classroom. I knew the old one was being taken to the crematorium. Craning my neck out the window, I saw the black car pass through the school gate under the gray sky. I believed that Uncle Denzin was leaving for another world.

SUCCESS AT SCHOOL. I learned that my taking care of Uncle Denzin had been reported in our school newspaper under the title "A Great Model for Students." I did not know this until a classmate handed me a newspaper and said, "Look! You did a great job." I had matured in the course of experiencing all these hardships.

As time passed, I learned to read, write and speak Tibetan well. Our class subjects included painting, logic, Buddhist studies, Tibetan poetry, Chinese, Tibetan calligraphy, Tibetan and Chinese translation, Tibetan music and Tibetan dance. All these subjects were taught in

Tibetan. In addition to study, I continued loading trucks, digging building foundations, hauling sand, mixing concrete and so on during holidays. I was comfortable with being exhausted at each day's end, despite the boss' scolding, fellow workers' insults and homesickness.

My study results were excellent and for three out of the four years, my tuition was paid by the school.

I will never forget some of my Tibetan teachers and schoolmates who were very helpful and compassionate, especially the one who first taught me the Tibetan alphabet and the ones who helped and encouraged me to study Tibetan.

In September 2003, I was chosen to come to Xining City, the capital of Qinghai Province, to study English in the English Training Program (ETP), Qinghai Normal University by ETP representatives.

PART TWO: INTRODUCTION

THE na^{53} mʑi^{53} PEOPLE

The na^{53} mʑi^{53}[A] are a little-studied group of people who reside in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in the southern part of Sichuan Province, the People's Republic of China.[B] The na^{53} mʑi^{53} have a reported population of 5,000 (Gordon 2005, Sun 2001:160). Linguists have generally classified the na^{53} mʑi^{53} language into the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Gordon 2005). This book focuses on the na^{53} mʑi^{53} who live in the communities of dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11} and dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} in Xichang City, and ʂa^{44} pa^{53} and ɕa^{11} ma^{11} k^{h}u^{53} in Mianning County. These communities also have significant Han and Nuosu populations. Figure One provides geographic and approximate population information for each community:[C]

Figure 1. na^{53} mʑi^{53} population in selected communities.

Community	Jurisdiction	Township or Town	City or County	na^{53} mʑi^{53} Pop.	Total Pop.
dz̩ə^{11} qu^{11}	Dashui Village	Minsheng Township	Xichang City	80	600
dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11}	Xiangshui Village	Xiangshui Township	Xichang City	800	9,000
ɕa^{11} ma^{11} k^{h}u^{53}	Dongfeng Village	Zeyuan Township	Mianning County	560	1,100
ʂa^{44} pa^{53}	Laoya Village	Shaba Town	Mianning County	290	1,600
Totals				1,740	22,200

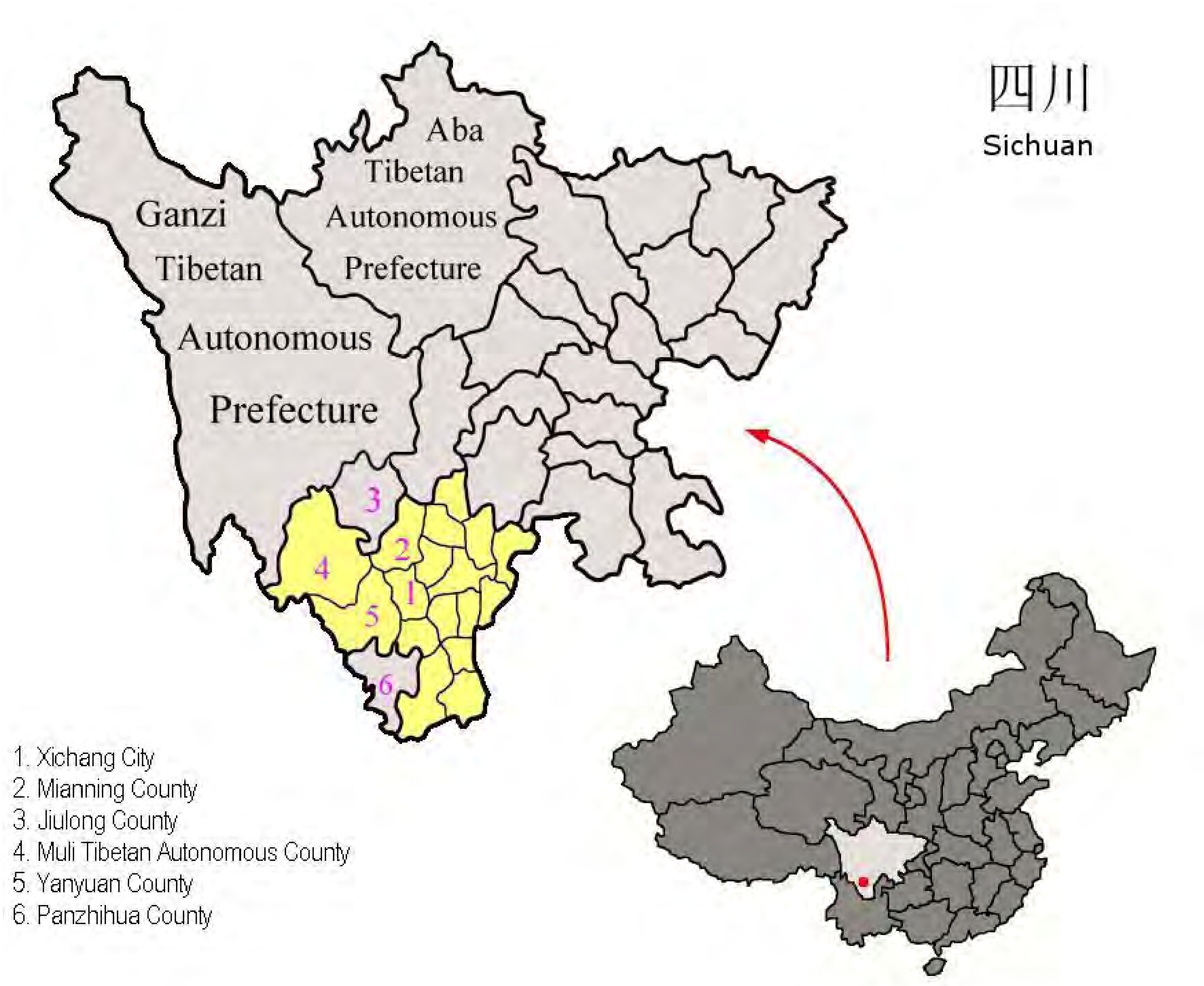
Libu Lakhi's father states that family relatives live in Jianmei Township (na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}: dʑa^{11} mi^{44}) and Xinxing Township (na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}: ɕi^{53} ɕi^{53}) in Mianning County.

[A] 'Namuyi' and 'Namizi' are transliterations of Chinese-character renderings of the word 'na^{53} mʑi^{53}'. Both capture the phonological details of the ethnonym poorly, despite being established in the cosmopolitan literature (Matisoff 1991; Gordon 2005).

[B] See http://picasaweb.google.com/libulakhi for photographs by Libu Lakhi of na^{53} mʑi^{53} life and culture.

[C] Much of this introduction is taken from Libu Lakhi, Hefright and Stuart (2007).

Figure 2.[A] Location of selected na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} areas in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture and Jiulong County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (1:1,400,000).



The communities listed in Figure 1 are situated in valleys between mountains. Travel from dʐ̩a^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11} to dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} takes about one day on foot, dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} to ʂa^{44} pa^{53} takes about a half day on foot and dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} to Lizhou takes about forty minutes by motorcycle. The weather is warm with a long growing season; it snows only once or twice a year. The na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} raise yaks, cows, goats, water buffalo, horses, pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, mules and donkeys. Rice, wheat, corn, barley, tobacco and beans are cultivated. Villagers derive cash income by selling livestock, small amounts of grain and tobacco and wild mushrooms that they collect in nearby forests from June through August. Increasing numbers of na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} leave the area to earn cash by working on construction crews organized by Han Chinese in Xichang City; but

[A] Figure 2 was adapted from a map created by the Wikipedia user Croquant (http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utilisateur:Croquant) and distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/).

some na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} also find work in Beijing and Guangdong. In 2005, the average annual cash income per family was 500-800 RMB[A] (li^{44} ʁu^{55} ʂ̩ə^{11} pə^{53}, interview data).

ETHNONYMS

Although the na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} speak what is likely a Qiangic language, they form part of China's officially recognized Tibetan ethnic group. The ethnonym 'na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53}' denotes not only speakers of na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, but all Tibetans. Similarly, Nuosu people refer to the na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} as 'ozzu' 'Tibetan' or 'Prmi/Pumi', a term that may have originally meant 'aborigine' (Huang 2004:16). However, local Han use the term Xifan 'Western Barbarian', a traditional Chinese designation for many of the Qiangic-speaking peoples of western Sichuan (Sun 2001), and reportedly the term the na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} used for themselves when speaking Chinese until their classification as part of the Tibetan ethnic group in 1984 (Huang 1991:153). na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} refer to Nuosu people as 'gy̩^{11} ɕy^{44}' and Han people as 'va^{53}'.

In the Chinese literature on na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, the Chinese-character rendering of the first syllable of na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} as *na*^{53} 纳 has prompted suggestions that the group is related to the Naxi ethnic group of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province (Yang 2006). In linguistic works that use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), authors have rendered the second syllable as /mu^{55}/, with a full vowel (Huang 1991:153, 1992:212; Liu 1996:185). However, as Liu notes, /m/ can appear both syllabically and as the first element of initial consonant clusters (1996:185,187). The practice of writing the final syllable as *yi* 依 or *yi* 义 has apparently contributed to a misimpression among certain speakers of Chinese that the na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} are a subgroup of the Yi ethnic group. However, as Huang and Liu indicate, the value of this syllable ranges from /ji/ to /ʐ̩i/ to /zə/ in different varieties of na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} (Huang 1992:212; Liu 1996:185). Huang and Sun have used 'Namuzi'/na^{51} mu^{51} dzə^{55}/ to represent the ethnonym as pronounced by speakers in Muli County (Huang 1991:153; Sun 2001:159). Libu Lakhi prefers the IPA rendering na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} for the ethnonym as it is pronounced in the dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} variety.

na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} ORIGINS

na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} tell variations of the following origin story. li^{44} ʁu^{55} ʂ̩ə^{11} pə^{53} provided this version:

> Long ago, grasslands and thick forests abounded in what is now Xichang City. Livestock and wild animals lived together peacefully. The melodious sound of birdsong filled the air. In na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, that place was called o^{53} ndʐ̩o^{53}—a word people cannot explain today, other than to say it is the name of that place. One day a bird appeared and started calling "*a*^{44} *zə*^{55} *do*^{11} *bi*^{44}." In na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, *a*^{44} *zə*^{55} means 'grandmother' and *do*^{11} *bi*^{44} means 'buttock'. The bird continued to call this day after day. When na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} parents, sisters, brothers, the older generations and young people were working and chatting

[A] Approximately sixty to one hundred USD. In 2005, one US dollar was worth 8.23 Chinese RMB.

together, they were very embarrassed to hear this sound. Finally, all the na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} decided to leave this hateful bird and find a new place to live. They left o^{53} ndʑ̥o^{53} with their livestock and their tools for farming and herding. Finally, they reached the place where they now live and settled.

THE na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} LANGUAGE

k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} means 'language', and the na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} call their language na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}. To date, there have appeared only preliminary linguistic analyses of na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}. Disagreement continues among linguists over the genetic affiliation of na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} within the Tibeto-Burman family. Sun argues that na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} is a Qiangic language that has been strongly influenced by the Yi languages with which it is in contact (2001:178). This influence may be primarily structural rather than lexical: of the approximately 900 words of dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} that Libu Lakhi has collected, only three percent appear to be loanwords from the local variety of Nuosu.

Huang (1991) and Liu (1996) provide preliminary linguistic analyses of varieties of na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} spoken in Muli County and Luoguodi, respectively. There are strong grammatical similarities between the Luoguodi variety and Libu Lakhi's dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} variety. However, there are also phonological and lexical differences, as demonstrated in Figure Three (Liu 1996):

Figure 3. A comparison of selected lexical items in dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} and Luoguodi na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}.

	dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11}	Luoguodi	Gloss
Identical cognates	*fɯ^{53}*	*fɯ^{53}*	'to blow' (as wind)
	dzə^{53} (apical vowel)	*dzɿ^{53}* (apical vowel)	'to eat'
Non-identical cognates	*ndza^{11}*	*dza^{31}*	'thin'
	qæ^{11}	*ɢæ^{13}*	'to dig'
Non-cognates	*ɕə^{11} ts^{h}ə^{44}*	*p^{h}sɿ*	'leaf'
	do^{44} ʙu^{53} ly^{53}	*ʁu^{53}*	'mountain'

As the table suggests, certain near-cognates differ in the occurrence of prenasalized stops (present in dʑ̥ə^{11}qu^{11}, absent in Luoguodi) and voicing (relative voice onset time). There is a more systematic difference in tonal categories. Liu describes four categories: 55, 53, 31 and 13 for the Luoguodi variety. However, Libu Lakhi produces lexical items cognate to those Liu describes as 55, slightly lower that the top of his voice range, a tone we represent as 44. Furthermore, he produces items cognate to those in 31 and 13 as a single low level tone, which we represent as 11. Due to this merger (or non-split), we describe five tonal categories for the Xichang variety as high (55), middle-high (44), high-falling (53), low-rising (14) and low (11). For purposes of comparison, we provide a complete Swadesh list of 207 English words with their dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} equivalents, as pronounced by Libu Lakhi, in Figure Five.

na^{53} mʑ̥i^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} possesses no orthography, and in dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} only about ten percent of the population reads Chinese, two percent reads Nuosu and only Libu Lakhi reads Tibetan. However, the language is well preserved in the communities of dʑ̥a^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11}, dʑ̥ə^{11} qu^{11} and

ʂa^{44} pa^{53}—particularly so in dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11}, where only residents under the age of twenty who have attended primary school can speak Chinese. In dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} and ʂa^{44} pa^{53}, na^{53} mʑi^{53} residents speak na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} among themselves, and fluent Nuosu and passable Chinese to people who prefer to speak those languages. na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} is less well preserved in ɕa^{11} ma^{11} k^{h}u^{53}, where almost all na^{53} mʑi^{53} people speak Nuosu and Chinese. Residents born before 1955 speak na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} to each other, but while younger people understand a great deal of na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, they prefer to converse in Nuosu or Chinese. Very few Nuosu or Han residents of these communities speak or understand na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}.

The sociolinguistic situation is changing rapidly. During the New Year Festival in January-February 2005, Libu Lakhi's elder sister and sister-in-law came from ɕa^{11} ma^{11} k^{h}u^{53} to visit the family home in dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11}. Asked why they insisted on speaking Nuosu to family members, they replied, "It is stupid to speak such a useless language as na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} these days. We have to communicate with our Nuosu friends in Nuosu. There are only a very few people who speak na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}. It's just like walking off a cliff with your eyes closed if you only speak na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} and refuse to speak Nuosu."

When the author asked why their two seven-year old children only spoke and understood Chinese, they replied, "Who doesn't want their kids to find a good job, settle down and have a comfortable home? We should have our kids learn Chinese to help them find a job, shouldn't we?"

Libu Lakhi has also noticed that code-switching among na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}, Nuosu and Chinese is on the rise among the youngest generation in dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11}. When Libu Lakhi visited his home in January-February 2005, he noted the following exchange with his niece (b. 1994), who attended the village primary school where Nuosu children comprise the majority of the student body:

A. Libu Lakhi:

	no^{53}	t^{h}i^{44}	pæ^{44}	ʁo^{53}	pi^{11} ʑi^{11}	q^{h}a^{44} ȵi^{53} kv̩^{11}	dʑo^{44}
Language	na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}						
Gloss	you	DET	class	LOC	student	how many	there is/are
Translation	'How many students are in there in your class?'						

B. Niece:

	ɕɔ^{31} si^{33}	san^{33} ʂ̩ə^{31} vu^{45}	gɔ	dʑo^{44}
Characters	学生	三十五	个	
Languages	Xichang Chinese			na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}
Gloss	students	thirty-five	CL	there is/are
Translation	'There are thirty-five students.'			

In her response, Libu Lakhi's niece combines a Xichang Chinese noun phrase with a na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} existential verb.[A] Interestingly, however, she uses na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11} noun-phrase

[A] The IPA transcription of the Xichang Chinese phrase reproduces Libu Lakhi's pronunciation.

constituent order, in which numeral-classifier constructions follow their noun heads, instead of the usual Chinese word order.

Noticing a cat dragging away his niece's handkerchief, Libu Lakhi initiated the following exchange:

A. Libu Lakhi:

	ha^{11} lɛ^{44}	nu^{53}	ba^{11} ts^{h}ə^{44}	tɕə^{11}
Language	na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}			
Gloss	cat	your	clothes	pull
Translation	'The cat is pulling your clothes.'			

B. Niece:

	ji^{55} a^{11} dʑu^{55}	t^{h}o^{53}	tɕə^{11}	ɕy^{53}	hĩ^{11}
Languages	Nuosu	na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}			
Gloss	it doesn't matter	let	pull	go away	let
Translation	'It doesn't matter, let it pull it away and go.'				

In this exchange, Libu Lakhi's niece begins with a phrase in Nuosu, *ji^{55} a^{11} dʑu^{55}* 'it doesn't matter', then finishes her utterance in na^{53} mʑi^{53} k^{h}a^{11} t^{h}o^{11}.[A]

dʐə^{11} qu^{11} VILLAGE na^{53} mʑi^{53} CLANS

There are three na^{53} mʑi^{53} clans in dʐə^{11} qu^{11} Village:

- li^{44} ʙu^{55} = ten households
- ka^{11} p^{h}æ^{11} = ten households
- ga^{53} p^{h}u^{53} = two households

Many older people can recite their ancestors' names. It is considered shameful to be unable to recite your ancestors' names because this indicates you are ignorant of whom you are descended from.

ȵi^{11} ma^{11} tʂ^{h}u^{11} had three sons[B]:

- a:^{53} xɛ^{44}
- to^{11} k^{h}a^{11}
- lu^{11} kɣ^{53}

a^{53} xɛ^{44}'s descendants are unknown.

[A] The IPA transcription of the Nuosu phrase reproduces Libu Lakhi's pronunciation.

[B] The clan he and others listed here are not known to us, other than the li^{44} ʙu^{55} Clan.

Six clans are descended from to^{11} k^{h}a^{11}:

- dʑɛ^{11} wu^{44}
- gy̩^{11} ʂu^{44}
- na^{53} k^{h}u^{44}
- na^{11}
- ja^{11} dzə^{44}
- a^{11} pu^{44}

lu^{11} ky̩^{53} had two sons:

- tʂ^{h}u^{11} ga^{11}
- li^{44} mɚ^{55}

Five clans are descended from tʂu^{11} ga^{11}:

- a^{11} tʂ^{h}a^{44}
- lu^{11} tʂ^{h}u^{44}
- a^{44} dzə̹^{55}
- m̩^{53} k^{h}a^{53}
- a^{44} tʙu^{55}

Seven clans are descended from li^{44} mɚ^{55} and li^{44} ʙu^{55} is the oldest son:

- li^{44} ʙu^{55}
- ha^{11} sa^{11}
- ha^{11} ja^{11}
- ha^{11} p^{h}æ^{11}
- ka^{11} p^{h}æ^{11}
- ka^{11} ja^{44}
- pa^{53} dʐa^{44}

CLOTHING

People born before 1965 often wear a *hũ^{53} ndzə^{53} ba^{11} ts^{h}ə^{44}* 'knee-length white robe made from the skin of thin hemp plants' (*sa^{11} q^{h}æ^{11}*) that grow as tall as a person. When the plant turns yellow in summer, people cut the plant, remove the skin and roll it on their thigh until it forms a string about one meter long. They then weave the strings into a fabric (*hũ^{53} ndzə^{53}*) from which they make the robes. Old people wrap a long strip of black cloth around their heads to make a *ʁu^{53} jy^{44}* 'turban'. Today, most young people wear traditional clothing only during festivals.

na^{53} mʑi^{53} RELIGION

ɕi^{53} vi^{53}. na^{53} mʑi^{53} elders teach that na^{53} mʑi^{53} are descended from gods (who have no gender). On special days such as the New Year and during weddings, ɕi^{53} vi^{53} must be respected and offered the freshest and tastiest food, such as rice and animal blood. People believe if they do not offer these sacrifices, people and livestock may become ill and there will be no harvest or

the harvest will be very limited. A few old men pray to çi^{53} vi^{53} during such times as when children become ill and when livestock sicken and die. They might say, "Protect all the members of our family and let our livestock increase in number."

p^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53}*.* Religious practitioners known as *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} hear what çi^{53} vi^{53} have to tell family members during rituals. The sole *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} in dzə̥^{11} qu^{11} in 2007 was born around 1945.

The *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} is a highly respected religious specialist who performs religious activities in na^{53} mʐi^{53} daily life, for example, during death rituals, sickness and such times of misfortune as when livestock become ill or when a family has a poor harvest. Villagers frequently invite him into their homes to perform religious activities when family members are sick or when they encounter trouble.

I often followed the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} to homes where he was to perform rituals. I was excited and interested when I saw the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53}*'s* implements—the two-sided round drum covered with goatskin, the animals made from wheat flour and the ghosts made of rice straw.

Father sent for the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} once when I was ill. Father is the most sincere believer in çi^{53} vi^{53} in my family. Sometimes he argues with my second elder brother, who does not really believe in çi^{53} vi^{53}. The *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} brought his drum and other implements and made three lines in the courtyard with green tree branches. He put a one meter high effigy made of rice straw on the left side of the door and then placed a large blanket near the fireplace. The blanket was full of frogs, snakes and birds made of flour. He sat by the fireplace with a box of uncooked rice beside him and began chanting. Sometimes, he beat the drum with a stick and at other times, he beat the drum with a small ring.

Every now and then the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} ordered all my family members to sit together by the fireplace and then he told other na^{53} mʐi^{53} attendants who were not my family members[A] to take the effigy and circle it around our collective head three times. Finally, he told us to go out on the left path made by the tree branches and return along the right path made by the branches. Next, he ordered other people who were not family members to hold the flour animals and circumambulate seven times around each of my female family member's heads and nine times around each male member's head. Then he told the non-relatives to go outside into the courtyard and throw the flour animal images in different directions, one by one. Before they left to go into the courtyard, the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} gave instructions as to the directions.

I was incredibly curious after this activity and bombarded my parents with questions—"What does the rice effigy mean? What do the roads of green tree branches mean?" …and so on.

The only answer I received was, "You little child! Don't ask so many questions!" I then decided to become a *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53} and learn more about çi^{53} vi^{53}.

[A] In this particular case, they were neighbors. Only men can assist the *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsɚ*^{53}*.*

AN EXORCISM RITUAL

My father performed the *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *bu*^{44} ritual for me many times during my childhood. The last time I remember him performing it was in the summer of 2002. One afternoon, after returning from working in the rice field, we were about to have supper, but I felt like vomiting and lay on the sofa by the hearth..

"Come eat supper," Mother called from the kitchen. I could smell the food cooking and I knew that supper was nearly ready without her telling me, but I didn't have much appetite.

After I failed to reply to Mother, Father came and said, "Didn't you hear? Come eat."

"I don't want to eat anything. I feel like vomiting," I murmured.

"When did you start to feel unwell?" he asked.

"Just a couple of minutes ago," I said.

"It must be those hateful *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} (ghosts). Quickly go get a bowl, put a little water inside along with a few grains of cooked rice and bring it here," he ordered my mother.

I didn't have supper that night. Father beat the bowl with a pair of chopsticks above my head and chanted loudly as I lay on the sofa. After he finished chanting, he walked to the courtyard door and threw the water and rice grains outside. Next, my younger sister cleaned the floor with a broom, closed the door and threw what she had swept up out through the courtyard door. This was meant to further discourage the ghosts from returning. Then I went to sleep. I felt normal as usual when I woke up the next morning.

During the New Year festival in January-February of 2005, I was sitting on the sofa and reading a book when I suddenly heard chanting. I rushed out and saw Father doing the *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *bu*^{44} ritual. I realized that my younger brother must be ill. He was sitting on a bag of grain. Father held a half-full bowl of water containing a few rice grains above his head and beat it with chopsticks. Father chanted things like, "Please return to where you are from, there is nothing here to eat and drink..."

People believe that the ghosts of people who have died from starvation or poisoning are prone to approach people and create sudden illness, causing dizziness, nausea and lack of appetite. The *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *bu*^{44} ritual exorcises these ghosts. Both men and women who know the chant frequently perform the *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *bu*^{44} ritual because it is informal and does not require the services of a *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsə*^{53}. In most cases, elder siblings perform it for whomever is ill. The only implements practitioners need are a bowl and a pair of chopsticks. They add water and a few grains of cooked rice to the bowl. It is considered best if all the family members are present at the time of the ritual and say things that will please the ghosts. After the ritual's completion, they clean the room and throw out garbage.

A transcription of the *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *bu*^{44} ritual chant performed by li^{44} ʁu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53}, described in the account above, is given below. Libu Lakhi recorded the chant on video at his home in dʐə^{11} qu^{11} during the New Year period, January-February 2005.

1. *ho:11 tɕhiŋ44 tɕhiŋ44 tɕhiŋ44 tɕhiŋ44…*
   [Untranslated material here and below, both entire lines and line parts, consist of vocables.]
2. *ti11 tɕo44 ŋa11 tɕo11 qhʏ̩11 tɕo11 ʂə11 tɕo11 ɴɢʏ̩11 tɕo11*
   First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
   [Refers to circles made around the patient's head with a bowl and chopsticks.]
3. *ti11 tɕo44 ŋa11 tɕo11 qhʏ̩11 tɕo11 ʂə11 tɕo11 ɴɢʏ̩11 tɕo11*
   First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
4. *ho:11 da11 te11 tɕɛ11 ʙu53 da11 te11*
   ho:11 da11 te11 for *tɕɛ11 ʙu53*
   [Refers to Libu Lakhi's younger brother, li44 ʙu55 tɕɛ11 ʙu53. He is identified in line thirty below as pa44 ɴɢi55.]
5. *rə11 zə53 ma53 qʏ̩11 tʙu11 pe11 ma11 qʏ̩11 le11*
   Because he doesn't know how to act
6. *va53 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
   Met Han ghosts
   ['Ghosts' are the spirits of people who have died by drowning, poisoning, murder or falling from a cliff.]
7. *na53 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
   Met na53 mʐ̩i53 ghosts
8. *hũ53 ʂ̩ə53 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 da44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
   Met *hũ53ʂ̩ə53* ghosts
9. *ho:11 da11 te11*
10. *hũ11 mbʐ̩i11 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 da44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
    Met *hũ11 mbʐ̩i11* ghosts
11. *the53 je11 da11 te11*
12. *a11 mi44 gʏ̩11 nu11*
13. *sɔŋ11 ndʐ̩a44 ɕɛ44 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 da:44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
    Met Song family's ghosts
14. *the53 je11 da11 te11*
15. *a11 mi44 gʏ̩11 nu11*
16. *xua11 ndʐ̩a44 ɕɛ44 ræ53 tʂ̩a44*
    Huang family's ghosts
17. *ho:11 da11 te11*
18. *ka11 phæ11 ɕɛ44 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 da:44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
    Met ka11 phæ11 family's ghosts
19. *the53 je11 da11 te11*
20. *li44 bu55 ɕɛ44 ræ53 tʂ̩a44 da:44 lo11 ʁu53 pʙu11 su44*
    Met li*44* bu*55* family's ghosts
21. *ho:11 da11 te11*
22. *hũ53 ʂ̩ə53 ræ53 tʂ̩a11 hũ11 mbʐ̩i11 ræ53 tʂ̩a11*
    hũ53 ʂ̩ə53 ghosts and *hũ11 mbʐ̩i11* ghosts
23. *ho:11 da11 te11*

24. *mi*^{11} *ma*^{11} *t*^{h}*ʙu*^{11} *su*^{11} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
Ghosts without given names
25. *lu*^{53} *ma*^{44} *t*^{h}*ʙu*^{11} *su*^{44} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
Ghosts without zodiac names
26. *t*^{h}*e*^{53} *je*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
27. *dʐɔ*^{11} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11} *ɣi*^{11} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
dʐɔ^{11} ghosts and livestock ghosts,
28. *hoː*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
29. *a*^{11} *mi*^{44} *gv̩*^{11} *nu*^{11}
30. *pa*^{44} *ɴɢi*^{55} *da*^{44} *lo*^{11} *mi*^{11} *do*^{44} *su*^{44} *da*^{44} *te*^{53}
Ghosts who asked pa^{44} ɴɢi^{55}
31. *ȵi*^{53} *tɕ*^{h}*o*^{53} *li*^{44} *dʐy*^{11} *su*^{44} *ji*^{11} *ly*^{11}
Ghosts from the west
32. *ʂa*^{11} *tɕ*^{h}*o*^{11} *li*^{44} *dʐy*^{11} *su*^{44} *ji*^{11} *ly*^{11}
Ghosts from the east
33. *a*^{11} *mi*^{44} *gv̩*^{11} *nu*^{11}
34. *ndzə*^{44} *ʁo*^{53} *ndzə*^{44} *mæ*^{11} *li*^{44} *dʐy*^{11} *su*^{44} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
Ghosts who come from north and south
35. *hũ*^{53} *ʂə*^{53} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11} *te*^{44} *hũ*^{11} *mbʐi*^{11} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11} *te*^{44}
hũ^{53} *ʂə*^{53} ghosts and *hũ*^{11} *mbʐi*^{11} ghosts
36. *t*^{h}*e*^{53} *je*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
37. *mi*^{11} *ma*^{11} *t*^{h}*ʙu*^{11} *su*^{11} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
Ghosts without given names
38. *lu*^{53} *ma*^{44} *t*^{h}*ʙu*^{11} *su*^{44} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
Ghosts without zodiac names
39. *t*^{h}*e*^{53} *je*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
40. *pa*^{44} *ɴɢi*^{44} *da*^{44} *te*^{44} *rə*^{11} *zə*^{53} *ma*^{53} *qv̩*^{11} *tʙu*^{11} *pe*^{11} *ma*^{11} *qv̩*^{11} *le*^{11}
Because pa^{44} ɴɢi^{44} doesn't know how to act
41. *a*^{11} *mi*^{44} *gv̩*^{11} *nu*^{11}
42. *hũ*^{53} *ʂə*^{53} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
hũ^{53} *ʂə*^{44} ghosts
43. *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *da*^{11} *va*^{53} *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *da*^{11} *lo*^{11} *ʁu*^{53} *pʙu*^{11} *su*^{44}
Met Han ghosts
44. *na*^{53} *ka*^{11} *ju*^{11} *da*^{11} *lo*^{11} *ʁu*^{53} *pʙu*^{11} *su*^{44}
Met na^{53} mʐi^{53} ghosts
45. *t*^{h}*e*^{53} *je*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
46. *a*^{11} *mi*^{44} *gv̩*^{11} *nu*^{11}
47. *hoː*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
48. *ti*^{11} *tɕo*^{44} *ŋa*^{11} *tɕo*^{11} *q*^{h}*v̩*^{11} *tɕo*^{11} *ʂə*^{11} *tɕo*^{11} *ɴɢv̩*^{11} *tɕo*^{11}
First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
49. *hoː*^{11} *da*^{11} *te*^{11}
50. *hũ*^{53} *ʂə*^{53} *ræ*^{53} *tʂa*^{11}
hũ^{53} *ʂə*^{44} ghosts
51. *ȵi*^{44} *a*^{44} *te*^{44} *ʐo*^{11} *mi*^{11} *tɕə*^{11} *te*^{11} *ʐo*^{11} *gv̩*^{11} *li*^{11} *hũ*^{11}
If you are hungry, return after I offer food

52. *fa^{44} a^{44} te^{44} ʐo^{11} mi^{11} tɕə^{11} te^{11} ʐo^{11} gv̩^{11} li^{11} hũ^{11}*
If you are thirsty, return after I offer food
53. *tʰe^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
54. *ha:^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
55. *ka^{11} ju^{11} da^{11} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met ghosts
56. *va^{53} ka^{11} ju^{11} da^{11} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met Han ghosts
57. *na^{53} ka^{11} ju^{11} da^{11} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met na^{53} mʐi^{53} ghosts
58. *ka^{11} pʰæ^{11} ɕɛ^{44} ka^{11} ju^{11} da:^{44} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met ka^{11} pʰæ^{11} family's ghosts
59. *tʰe^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
60. *li^{44} ʙu^{55} ɕɛ^{44} ka^{11} ju^{11}*
li^{44} ʙu^{55} family's ghosts
61. *sɔŋ^{11} ndʑa^{44} ɕɛ^{44} ka^{11} ju^{11}*
Song family's ghosts,
62. *ho:^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
63. *va^{53} tʂa^{44} va^{53} bæ^{44}*
va^{53} tʂa^{44} va^{53} bæ^{44} ghosts
64. *gv̩^{11} ly^{44} gv̩^{11} ɕy^{44}*
Nuosu ghosts
65. *va^{53} la^{44} he^{44} le^{44}*
Han ghosts
66. *he:^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
67. *ka^{11} ju^{11} da^{11} te^{11} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met ghosts
68. *gv̩^{11} ly^{44} gv̩^{11} ɕy^{44} ʐɿ^{55}*
Nuosu people's ghosts
69. *tʰæ:^{53} tʰa^{11} pæ^{44} dʑæ^{11} ʂa^{44} ræ^{53} tʂa^{44} da^{44} lo^{11} ʁu^{53} pʙu^{11} su^{44}*
Met *tʰæ:^{53} tʰa^{11} pæ^{44} dʑæ^{11} ʂa^{44}* ghosts
70. *tʰe^{53} je^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
71. *n̩ɹi^{44} a^{44} te^{44} ʐo^{11} mi^{11} tɕə^{11} te^{11} ʐo^{11} gv̩^{11} li^{11} hũ^{11}*
If you are hungry, return after I offer food
72. *fa^{44} a^{44} te^{44} ʐo^{11} mi^{11} tɕə^{11} te^{11} ʐo^{11} gv̩^{11} li^{11} hũ^{11}*
If you are thirsty, return after I offer food
73. *ho:^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
74. *hũ^{53} ʂə^{53} ræ^{53} tʂa^{11} te^{44} hũ^{11} mbʐi^{11} ræ^{53} tʂa^{11} te^{44}*
hũ^{53} ʂə^{53} ghosts and *hũ^{11} mbʐi^{11}* ghosts
75. *ɴɢv̩^{11} n̩ɹi^{11} rə^{11} gv̩^{11} te^{11} ti^{11} n̩ɹi^{11} m̩^{11} nu^{11} li^{44} pʙu^{11}*
I command you back in one day if you came here in nine days
76. *ɴɢv̩^{11} ha^{44} rə^{11} gv̩^{44} te^{11} ti^{11} ha^{11} m̩^{11} nu^{11} li^{44} pʙu^{11}*
I command you back in one night if you came here in nine nights
77. *ho:^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*

78. *y̩^{11} tʁu^{11} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} te^{44} y̩^{11} tʁu^{11} li^{44} pʁu^{11}*
I command ghosts from the maternal side to return to the maternal side
79. *ʑ̩i^{44} tʁu^{11} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} da^{44} te^{44} ʑ̩i^{44} tʁu^{11} li^{44} pʁu^{11}*
I command ghosts from the paternal side to return to the paternal side
80. *ȵɪ^{53} tɕʰo^{53} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11} da^{44} te^{44} ȵɪ^{53} tɕʰo^{53} nu^{44} li^{44} pʁu^{11}*
I command ghosts from the west to return to the west
81. *ʂ̩a^{11} tɕʰo^{11} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11} da^{44} te^{44} ʂ̩a^{11} tɕʰo^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʁu^{11}*
I command ghosts from the east to return to the east
82. *hoː^{11} da^{11} te^{11}*
83. *ndzə^{44} ʁo^{53} ndzə^{44} mæ^{11} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11}*
Ghosts who come from north and south
84. *tʁu^{11} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11} ɣi^{11} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11}*
Wild animal ghosts and livestock ghosts
85. *y̩^{11} ræ^{53}tʂ̩a^{11} ʑ̩i^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11}*
Maternal ghosts and paternal ghosts
86. *tʂ̩a^{53} ndʑ̩a^{44} li^{44} dʑ̩y^{11} su^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11}*
Zhang family ghosts
87. *hoː^{11} jy^{11} ma^{11} sa^{11} su^{11} rə^{11} zə^{44} ma^{11} zə^{44} su^{44} ræ^{53} tʂ̩a^{11} da^{44} te^{44}*
Ghosts who wander at night
89. *hoː^{11} ʂ̩a^{53} tɕo^{11} tɕo^{11}, sa^{53} ho^{11} ho^{11}, sa^{53} ho^{11} ho^{11}*

FUNERALS

November 5, 2004 (Friday), eight a.m. Two men from dʑ̩a^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} Village, Xiangshui Township arrived in dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village on motorcycle when my mother and I were talking with some neighbors in front of our gate. They came with bad news—my sister-in-law's mother had died. "*a^{44} wa^{53}*,[A] she was only fifty. Why wasn't it her crazy old man (the dead woman's husband), rather than her?" Mother said. We were surprised by this unexpected bad news.

The surviving husband often behaved badly. His face was dark and he wore ragged clothing. I used to be very afraid of him. Nevertheless, I felt sympathy when others beat him when he said unacceptable and profane words in public. He went here and there and did not return home for many days. Sometimes he was gone for a month. He played with kids at weddings and funerals. Sometimes he grabbed someone's hat or a girl's scarf and vanished from the crowd. Later, the only way to get the 'stolen' item back was to offer him pieces of meat or a bottle of liquor. I do not know what he did when he was away from home but his neighbors kindly gave him food.

"I'm leaving for dʑ̩a^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11}. I'll buy a cow there. It is very slow and difficult to drive a cow from here to dʑ̩a^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11}. I'll also have to kill and butcher cows for the funeral," my younger brother said and left immediately. We started to prepare for our journey from dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Village to dʑ̩a^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} with seven people, one from each na^{53} mʑ̩i^{53} family in my village, except for some families who were really busy with their farmwork. We collected ten to fifteen RMB from each family and bought fifteen kilograms of liquor and firecrackers at bi^{11} ji^{53}

[A] An expression of surprise.

li^{53} xo^{11}, where the local township government is located. We divided the liquor into three containers so three people could carry it easily and thus better deal with the steep path while climbing the mountain on our way to dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11}.

Around 300 na^{53} mʑi^{53} live in dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11}. The sound of wailing and the rattle-tattle of firecrackers greeted us when we reached the home at six in the evening. We then set off our own firecrackers. Some people in our group wailed and went into the room where the corpse lay on a bed made of sandalwood.[A]

According to na^{53} mʑi^{53} custom, the family must invite *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* to chant and do many complicated rituals. Chanting is needed for at least three days and then the corpse is cremated. *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* also decide when, where and how far from the home the corpse should be taken. Moreover, only adults (those more than twenty years old) can participate in cremation.

A big fire was made in the courtyard center in front of the house after we finished dinner. People could clearly see everyone's face by the firelight. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* led fifteen young people in a dance around the corpse. He sang words (that I could not understand) that all the dancers repeated in a high-pitched voice. After the *p^{h}a^{53}tsə^{53}* led us singing and dancing for one circumambulation, he returned beside the corpse.

"Oh, it is you young ones' turn now. Tonight is the time we send her; it's not a time to chat and sleep. Continue and don't stop," he instructed as he settled back into his seat. At this moment, I remembered what Father had told me, "We cannot dance ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11} without the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}'s* permission." The dead person hears the villagers singing and is pleased. Thus the dance allows villagers to express their sadness and respect for the dead person and the dead person's relatives.

"OK, come, everyone, let's dance..." the young ones called to each other after the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* said so. I joined them and felt great sadness in my heart when I sang with the villagers:

ho^{44}———ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11} ———	Oh———ʂə ts^{h}o———
[1]m̩^{53} je^{44} a^{44} zə^{55} nu^{44} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[1]You, a^{44} zə^{55}[B]
[2]nu^{11} je^{44} mi^{44} lo^{11} tɕə^{53} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[2]You, get up
[3]qa^{11} lu^{44} va^{11}mi^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[3]*qa^{11} lu^{44} va^{11} mi^{11}*[C] is sending you back
[4]qa^{11}tʙu^{44} qa^{11} pæ^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[4]The hearth is sending you back
[5]q^{h}o^{11} bo^{11} q^{h}o^{11} ndzə^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[5]The door threshold is sending you back
[6]dʑa^{11} k^{h}v̩^{44} tʂ^{h}a^{44} pa^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[6]The yard outside is sending you back
[7]nu^{53} je^{44} zə^{11} mi^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[7]Your daughters are sending you back
[8]nu^{11} je^{44} ʑi^{53} ho^{53} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[8]Your sons are sending you back
[9]jo^{53} tʂa^{44} jo^{11} tʂ^{h}u^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{11} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[9]Relatives are sending you back
[10]bo^{11} ka^{11} bo^{11} lo^{11} nu^{44} li^{44} pʙu^{44} ha^{11} dʑo^{44} ʂə^{11}	[10]Villagers are sending you back

[A] The sandalwood bed is made for the corpse to lie on. It is later taken with the corpse and used as fuel for cremation.

[B] *a^{44} zə^{55}* generally means 'mother-in-law' but may also be used as a respectful term of address used by young people when addressing older women.

[C] *qa^{11} lu^{44} va^{11} mi^{11}* 'three stones by the hearth' are used to support pots when they are heated by a fire underneath.

The words may be improvised. People took turns leading the circle to sing and dance until dawn. Many people danced near the corpse. A person sang out a line of song first, which others repeated. I saw some people were also dancing and singing in the courtyard outside because the room was very crowded. However, at midnight, only three to five men continued to dance and sing. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* was upset because only a few people continued to dance and sing for the last two hours. Five o'clock in the morning is the best time for the soul to leave for it is then that the cocks crow at dawn before many people have risen. At this time, the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* stopped the dancing and did the soul-sending ritual by saying the name of each place, in order, where our ancestors had lived in the past. Around eleven o'clock, the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* chanted and people danced *ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11}* around the corpse for the last time. Then strong young men carried the corpse away to be cremated, as the home overflowed with wailing.

On the way home, my younger brother and I met his father-in-law. His face was covered with dirt and he carried a broom on his shoulder. "Mother-in-law passed away," I said.

"No, no, it is not true. I'm going to beat Han Chinese in the market," he said and walked away from us. Soon we couldn't see him anymore.

"It's better to not tell him. He's always like this," my younger brother sighed.

The deceased's relatives should visit with a gift of liquor soon after a death. Daughters and sons of the deceased must bring a goat, sheep, pig or cow. These animals are believed to accompany the dead person's soul. A relative of the dead person (most commonly a brother and the deceased's children) must offer a goat or sheep. Villagers also visit. If na^{53} mʐi^{53} in the village do not visit the deceased's family during the funeral, others believe they lack a sense of community spirit. Nuosu who have close relationships with the deceased's family also visit and bring one or two bottles of liquor.

The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* is the funeral director. He divines how long the corpse should be kept in the house, which is usually not longer than three days. He also chooses cremation or earth burial.

An exceptional situation occurs when the deceased has no sons or only daughters, in which case the religious activity is *ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11}* and chanting. The purpose of both is to send the dead person's soul back to p^{h}u^{53} ji^{44} la^{11} dʐy^{11} k^{h}v̩^{11}, the place where ancient na^{53} mʐi^{53} originated. *ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11}*—'entertain the dead person'—is a crucial activity because it sends the soul of the deceased back to p^{h}u^{53} ji^{44} la^{11} dʐy^{11} k^{h}v̩^{11}. It is a simple circle dance comprised of a few dance movements that match the rhythm of what is sung. People only dance when the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* begins. He sings a few lines, which the others repeat. He may then stop singing and dancing, while others continue. *ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11}* continues in the room where the corpse lies throughout the night, though some villagers may return home to rest.

A bed, similar to a normal wooden bed, is made for the corpse, which is covered with white fabric. Adults never let children get near the corpse. Furthermore, cats and mice must not jump over the corpse. If they do, the corpse will wake up and frighten everyone.

Two to four *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* work together chanting for the corpse during the daytime, which leads the soul back to p^{h}u^{53} ji^{44} la^{11} dʐy^{11} k^{h}v̩^{11}. If this is not done, the soul becomes a ghost and will do bad things. During the night, young people dance *ʂə^{11} ts^{h}o^{11}* for the dead person and a

person in the circle sings loudly and sadly, which is repeated by the other dancers in the circle. Meanwhile, relatives are near the corpse, keeping children, cats and mice away.

The above describes the proceedings for old people when they die. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* comes and divines the direction the corpse should be taken when people die from disease, are killed in fights and who commit suicide. In such cases, the corpse is generally cremated; the corpse is placed on a stack of wood, which is set on fire. The exact location of the stack of wood is determined by the *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}*.

The family must clean the house after the corpse is removed.

THE NEW YEAR IN dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} VILLAGE

NEW YEAR RULES. The New Year period (according to the Chinese lunar calendar) lasts fifteen days for the na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} and Han living in the village and is marked by the gathering of family members, visiting, sacrificing to dead relatives and ancestors, cleaning graves and village gatherings. The end of New Year is marked by removing k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *t^{h}o^{11} po^{11}* or the New Year pine trees. dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} Nuosu villagers celebrate the New Year about one month earlier.

na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} observe the following New Year rules:

Rule	Day	Reason
do not eat meat or oil	1	unknown
do not eat rice	1	unknown
do not blow on fires	1-3	causes wind
do not visit other homes	1-3	unknown
one's animals should stay at their own home	1-3	unknown
do not pour water	1-3	disturbs life-forms in water
do not fetch water	1-3	disturbs life-forms in water
do not cut trees	1-15	disturbs life-forms in forests
do not cultivate fields	1-15	disturbs life-forms in the earth

k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55} 'NEW YEAR ANCESTORS'. Younger na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} family members return from helping relatives and friends' families build houses and doing housework in other villages, and working to earn cash income, e.g., doing construction work in such cities as Chengdu and Xichang. Children do not need to watch the livestock because the crops have been harvested and thus there are no crops for the livestock to damage and students are not in school. The family's attention turns to preparing for and then celebrating the annual k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55}.

Children excitedly wait for the k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}*, who return to celebrate k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} with their descendants and relatives. Libu Lakhi's father typically gave this account when Libu Lakhi was a child:

> My dear child, don't be naughty and misbehave, then you will get new clothes, new shoes and a new hat to wear and your dearest father will cut a very big pig foot for you to carry when the k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}* arrive. k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} is coming! And the k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{55} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}* will not like you if you misbehave and cry all the time. If the k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}* are

> unhappy, then we will have poor harvests, our livestock will get sick and we will also become ill. Then our family will not have a happy life next year.

If Libu Lakhi curiously asked for more information about the k^{h}ɣ̩ ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}*, his father further explained:

> k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *a^{11} p^{h}u^{44} a^{44} ɣ̩^{55}* are all our ancestors who have died and do not live with us today. They are in *m̩r^{53}* 'the sky'. They return to our home to celebrate New Year with us every year. Of course we cannot see anything like bodies or hear any sounds from them, but their *rə^{53} hĩ^{53}* 'spirits' are here with us. Everyone likes that. After we die, we become spirits. Spirits can see what we are doing, hear what we say and smell what we offer them when they return to our home. That's why we always offer fresh meat (raw and cooked), rice and liquor to them before we eat. That shows we respect and are devoted to them. We should respect our ancestors.

SHOPPING. na^{53} mʐ̩i^{53} and Han dʐə̹^{11} qu^{11} villagers prepare for the New Year by slaughtering pigs; making k^{h}ɣ̩^{44} ʂə^{55} *q^{h}ɔ^{44}* 'New Year purchases' (usually from lu^{11} ma^{44}/Lizhou) of vegetables, fireworks, liquor, candy, bowls, spatulas, new pots if the old ones need replacing, etc. on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of the twelfth lunar month and by cleaning the home. In Libu Lakhi's home, his eldest brother or father usually went shopping on foot with a *k^{h}a^{11}* 'large bamboo back-basket', along a narrow path running from dʐə̹^{11} qu^{11} Village to lu^{11} ma^{44}. An entire day was required to go and return. If Libu Lakhi's father went, Libu Lakhi and his elder brother went out on the path to wait for his return and greet him in the evening.[A]

The sun gleamed gently above the western mountain as my elder brother (Jiujin) and I started our greeting journey.

"Did you see our brother returning?" we asked every passerby returning from shopping in lu^{11} ma^{44}.

"Who is your brother? What's his name?" replied many Nuosu. We were then silent as we sat on a boulder by the path, looking into the distance, hoping to see someone resembling Xiaolong. As we waited patiently and the light dimmed, the end of the path came nearer to us as the density of fog and murkiness increased.

"What are you two doing here?" came a voice some minutes later from the darkness.

"Did you buy new clothes for us? We have been waiting for you to return!" Jiujin blurted out.

"Did you get many firecrackers for the New Year?" I asked in extreme excitement.

"Can we both have a look, dear brother?" we both begged, eager to see our new clothes and the firecrackers, which have a very distinctive odor.

[A] In 2007, this had changed with most dʐə̹^{11} qu^{11} Village families owning a motorcycle. In 2007, there were three taxi vans that went from dʐə̹^{11} qu^{11}Village to lu^{11} ma^{44} (four to five RMB one-way).

"Quickly! Quickly! What are you two talking about? We cannot find our way back home in the darkness if you continue talking like this. You'll have a chance to see and enjoy your new clothes after we get home," Xiaolong said in such a mature, confident tone that we shut up and obediently followed him home.

Back home, Brother Xiaolong took out two jackets and two black hats from his basket. Jiujin and I then ran to our parents and showed them our new clothes. Meanwhile, Mother was sorting out the vegetables and new bowls and chopsticks that Xiaolong had bought beside the hearth. It was the happiest time when our parents said "Wow! My son is really good-looking today!"

Father often reminded us to keep the firecrackers far from the hearth. He never let us kids touch them out of concern for our safety.

When we asked why only Han people were able to make firecrackers, he would tell us the following story.

> Long ago, our li^{44} ʁu^{55} Clan had a special gun an armspan long called *sa*^{53} *ja*^{53} *p*^{h}*o*^{11}. It had three barrels and we could shoot them all at the same time. They didn't use firecrackers like today. Now it is very different. We just buy firecrackers from the market and use them to sacrifice with instead of the *sa*^{53} *ja*^{53} *p*^{h}*o*^{11} because it is so convenient. No families have a *sa*^{53} *ja*^{53} *p*^{h}*o*^{11} today."

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: q^{h}*o*^{44} *ʂ̥a*^{55} *ŋga*^{53}*.* On the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh lunar month, every household does *q*^{h}*o*^{44} *ʂ̥a*^{55} *ŋga*^{53} 'soot clean'.[A] Cleaning involves cleaning inside and outside of the house (the house courtyard and outside the courtyard). The home interior is cleaned first. The walls, pillars, sacrifice place, kitchen and ceiling are dark and dirty because smoke from the hearth fire has coated them with soot. A long bamboo pole with a bunch of leaves at the top is prepared. *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53} 'sacrifice box[B] (Figure 17), beds, quilts, clothes and so on are moved outside into the courtyard.

Father cut and trimmed a long bamboo pole and began cleaning the ceiling while Mother and I were cleaning the things we had moved into the courtyard.

"Liujin,[C] don't come in until I tell you, OK? The air is full of swirling dust!" Father yelled from inside the house.

"Yes, don't go inside, otherwise you'll get sick from the dust," Mother added.

"OK! Mother, why do we have to clean like this?" I asked.

"We do so every year in order to greet our ancestors when they return to celebrate the New Year with us. And we also have more time now to clean the house than at any other time," Mother explained while stuffing dirty clothing into a bag. "Go out and see if your elder sister

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[A] *q*^{h}*o*^{44} *ʂ̥a*^{55} = soot on the walls and ceiling of a home that has accumulated from burning a fire in the hearth.

[B] The *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53} is made of wood boards and is on the left side of the hearth.

[C] Liujin = six *jin* or three kilograms; his weight at birth.

and elder brother have finished cleaning *ji*^{44} *dʁɯ*^{55} *q*^{h}*æ*^{53} ''around the house', and then tell them to take these clothes to the river and wash them."

My brother and sister were making a big pile of tree leaves on the right side of our house when I reached them. "Wow! It's extremely clean. You two did a good job," I said, looking around.

"We must, otherwise our ancestors will be unhappy when they visit us during the New Year time," Elder Sister said seriously.

Elder Brother said, "You're so lucky not to have to do the work we are doing. You don't have to do as much work as us! I'll tell Mother and Father that you also should do the same work as us next year."

"Sure! I can do everything you are doing now but later, after I grow up. Mother said you should wash these clothes in the river," I said and then got ready to run back to Mother.

"Yes, but wait a minute, Younger Brother. We also must help Father clean the house and carry the dirt here," Elder Sister said, pointing to a nearby pile of dirt.

"OK, I'll tell Mother. Why must we add the dirt from the house on this same pile?" I asked.

"In order to do better ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53} activity,"[A] Elder Sister replied gently.

"What is ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53}?" I asked.

"Ask Mother what we should do next. We'll tell you later," Elder Sister said.

I went back, asked Mother, returned and said, "Mother said you two come help Father and she'll wash the clothes. Tell me what ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53} is now," I said.

"Dear Younger Brother, go back and ask Mother because we must help Father, otherwise we will have no time. Tomorrow, we have to kill the *kɣ̩*^{44} *ʂə*^{55} *va*^{11} *k*^{h}*o*^{11} 'New Year pig'," Elder Sister said patiently.

When I got back to the doorway, I could hear Father coughing. "My throat is coated with dust," he said. "I finished cleaning the ceiling, wall and pillars. You two please clean the floor and carry the dirt out for ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53} during New Year," Father said to my brother and sister, then slapped his clothes, sending out new clouds of dust.

Elder Sister and Elder Brother went into the house with brooms. I followed and saw the floor was covered with a thin layer of soot. The ceiling, walls and pillars looked new, as though the house had been built recently.

I went outside. Mother had gone to wash the clothes. Father was resting, sitting on the courtyard floor, leaning against a wall.

"Liujin bring me a basin of water. I want to wash my face," he said. I saw his nose was covered with soot and I wanted to laugh, but then I quickly hurried away.

"Come out quickly, Liujin. The house is full of soot. You'll get sick from it," Father added as I scurried away.

When I came back, I asked, "Father, what is ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53}?" I couldn't get those words out of my head.

"You do ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53} during the New Year time," he said, as he washed his face with the towel I had brought.

"But I don't know what is it!" I said.

[A] *ka*^{11} = eagle; *mɛ*^{53} *qo*^{53} = to not look at someone directly because you are displeased with them; *ɕa*^{11} *pi*^{53} = blind.

"The *ka*^{11} is a very huge, powerful bird with sharp talons. At the beginning of every year, they come to catch chickens. They like to eat chickens and it is very easy for them to catch and carry away small chickens. The trees are bare at the beginning of every year so it is a perfect time for them to catch chickens. At other times of the year, it is harder for them to catch chickens because the chickens can run into bushes or under trees with thick leaves. In order to prevent the chickens from being caught by *ka*^{11}—since long ago, I don't know when exactly—our ancestors believed ka^{11} mɛ^{53} qo^{53} ka^{11} ɕa^{11} pi^{53} was very effective. Years ago, the activity was performed by adults, the *sa*^{44} *ja*^{44} *p*^{h}*o*^{11} was shot and everyone repeated '*ka*^{11} *mɛ*^{53} *qo*^{53} *ka*^{11} *ɕa*^{11} *pɨ*^{53}'. In time however, adults lost interest in doing this so now only children do it with firecrackers. People clean their houses and use the garbage and dirt to make smoke around their houses and say '*ka*^{11} *mɛ*^{53} *qo*^{53} *ka*^{11} *ɕa*^{11} *pɨ*^{53},' but not many people remain interested in doing such things," Father sadly concluded.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: SLAUGHTERING PIGS. "Get up and help me make a fire," Father urged while I still was in bed.

"O... OK," I said, sat up and got dressed quickly, which was unusual for me. I rushed out and saw smoke coming from every home's courtyard, sending thick clouds above the village.

"Bring some fuel and let's make a fire," Father said, while digging a hole in the ground. When he finished, he placed a cauldron atop it, brought water in a bucket from the river and filled it. Meanwhile, I made a fire under the cauldron.

All the young na^{53} mʑi^{53} men gather and kill New Year pigs in the order of oldest[A] to youngest families. About twelve young men came to our home after we had breakfast.

"Oh, please sit first. Please sit," Mother said and asked me to bring some bowls for liquor.

"First pour a cup and put it on the sacrifice place, then offer each person a bowl of liquor," Father said as I cut *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44},[B] put it in the *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} *q*^{h}*a*^{11},[C] added glowing charcoal from the hearth and then placed it on the sacrifice place.

"Whose New Year pig is the biggest this year?" Qijin,[D] a villager in his thirties asked curiously, holding a cup of liquor in his right hand.

"Bajin's[E] family," Father replied, taking a sip of his own liquor.

"No, I think your family's is biggest, Qijin. Yesterday, I saw your family's pig," Mother commented.

"OK, is everyone at home? We still have to go to other homes to kill pigs," Father said.

"Yes, all the family members are at home," Mother replied from the kitchen.

When New Year pigs are slaughtered, everyone must be at home. Traditionally, people believe that if someone is missing from the family at this time, a family member might become ill, the family's livestock might not grow well and such disasters as floods might harm the family.

[A] Here 'oldest' refers to the family that has the oldest person (either male or female).

[B] *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} is sandalwood cut from the mountain, which has a pleasing odor when burnt as a sacrifice to the ancestors. *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsə*^{53} burn *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} during such rituals as funerals and exorcisms.

[C] *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} *q*^{h}*a*^{11} = container in which *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} is burnt.

[D] Qijin = seven *jin*, or three and a half kilograms.

[E] Bajin = eight *jin*, or four kilograms

My elder brother set off firecrackers and their explosions briefly deafened me as the men slaughtered my family's New Year pig.

"Quickly, put the blood on the sacrifice place while it is warm and toss ash on the ground to cover the blood," Father said to Mother and my elder brother in a hurried tone. Then he left with the other men to help them do the same thing at other homes.

"Why can't we let our dog lick the blood on the ground, Mother?" I asked.

"Our ancestors will be upset if we let the dog lick the blood before we offer it to them," Mother answered calmly, putting the basin of blood on the sacrifice place.

"Mother, I want to go see the pigs slaughtered at the other homes!" I said.

"All right, but be careful and come back quickly with your father," Mother said as I left.

It was about noon. Elder Brother and Mother were almost finished scalding and scraping the pig carcass. It was time for Father to return because only he knows how to butcher the pig correctly in order to offer sacrifices to the ancestors of the New Year.

"Wow! We don't have to worry about anything this year. Oh, wait a moment... here, there is a little bit of the *va*^{11} *pi*^{11} 'spleen' rolled outside, but I think it is still fine. The spleen is generally as flat as a board,"[A] Father said, holding the spleen in his hands, turning it over and over, examining it carefully.

"Oh... quickly cut out the *tʂə*^{11} 'bladder' and have a look," Mother said, looking both happy and worried.

"There isn't too much *mbæ*^{11} 'urine' in the bladder. It will be a little dry this year, but don't worry. It should be OK," Father comforted us and himself.

"Liujin, go stretch the bladder for the ancestors," Father said, handing me the bladder.

I ran out excitedly with it and tried my best to stretch it by rubbing it on the ground and blowing it up and rubbing it on the ground again because when our ancestors come to celebrate New Year, they receive many offerings and they use the bladder to store the offerings when they leave.

ʂə^{11} *v̩*^{11} *kɛ*^{11} *tɕʰə*^{53}[B] 'sacrificing roasted pork',[C] is an important part of New Year rituals. The spleen is roasted and placed on the sacrifice place before people or animals have a chance to eat any part of the New Year pork.

"Quickly, let's offer the spleen and then we can roast lean pork to eat," Father urged while cutting up the pig carcass.

That evening, Mother used the New Year pig's large intestines to make *ɕɛ*^{11} *v̩*^{11} *ȵi*^{11} 'blood-sausage' for dinner. Fresh intestines are turned inside-out by inserting the end of a chopstick in one end and then pulling the intestine over the chopstick, which provides something to grip. Then they are washed. Bamboo strips are cut, bent into a circle the same diameter as the

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[A] If the edge of the spleen is rolled slightly inwards, this is seen as a good omen—the family will make money and the family will be lucky. If the edge of the spleen is rolled slightly outwards, then it is seen as a bad omen—the family may lose money and experience bad luck. A flat spleen is seen as neither a good nor bad omen. The bladder foretells the weather. If it is full, it suggests that there will be too much precipitation and there may be flooding. Conversely, if the bladder is empty or nearly so, it will be a dry year. A half-full bladder is considered best.

[B] *ʂə*^{11} *v̩*^{11} = roasted lean pork; *kɛ*^{11} *tɕʰə*^{53} = to sacrifice.

[C] Pieces of lean pork are placed directly on coals in the hearth.

intestines and tied at the ends to keep them circular; the rings are put at the mouth of an intestine and the end of the intestine is pulled over the ring so that the sausage filling (leftover cooked rice mixed with pig blood, ginger, salt, prickly ash and garlic) may be easily placed into the intestines using the hands. The filled intestines are tied at either end and boiled for about half an hour. Periodically, a chopstick or bamboo strip is used to puncture a sausage to see if red blood comes out. Cooking continues until there is no red color. Usually, this is the only time stuffed sausages are made and eaten in the home.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: MAKING THE sa^{44} nda^{55}. The twenty-eighth day has no certain activities other than young men building the sa^{44} nda^{55} that consists of two wood poles taken from a nearby forest. One pole is about three meters long and the other is about ten meters long. A hole is dug and the shorter pole is stood upright and its base is buried. This shorter pole is sharpened at the end and then stuck through a hole made in the center of the longer pole. This is used for entertainment by two people—one person sits on each end of the pole and then they run and swing counterclockwise. People are busy during this time and the sa^{44} nda^{55} is not used much until the first day of the first lunar month.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: MAKING SAUSAGE. No special activities are done on the twenty-ninth day. A family might ask someone to go shopping for needed items. Pork sausage is made using the small intestines.

THE THIRTIETH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH. The thirtieth day of the twelfth lunar month until the third day of the first lunar month are the most important days of the entire New Year period. All family members should be at home during this time. Most families invite a p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$ to hold the mbo^{53} k^ho^{53} $pʙu^{11}$ ritual in the morning.[A] This ritual expels disease and evil and is held at around five a.m., which is considered the best time to do the ritual before sentient creatures[B] awaken. The ritual continues until dawn or a cock crows.

The first thing to do on this morning is to cut $k^hy̩^{44}$ $ʂə^{55}$ t^ho^{11} po^{11} or pine trees of the New Year. Such trees are considered a very pure greeting to the ancestors of the New Year. Usually, it requires five small green pine trees with three whorls that should be as tall as a person. Two are tied on both sides of the ga^{53} ha^{53} 'sacrifice place' and two are leaned against both sides of the door. The fifth one is inserted into the courtyard center in front of the door.

After breakfast, as Father instructed, I went looking for small pine trees in the forest on a high mountain. It was challenging for me because the trees were very tall and it was difficult to find trees with three whorls. My parents were waiting for me to have lunch with them when I returned with five small trees. I placed them all in their proper places as soon as I finished

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[A] During mbo^{53} k^ho^{53} $pʙu^{11}$, the p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$ chants to dispel such evil things as illness and curses put on family members by others.

[B] Misfortune is caused by evils, which can easily hear the p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$'s chants before people and such other life-forms as frogs and birds awaken and begin making noise.

lunch. Father began collecting needles to build the *kv̩*^{44} *ʂə*^{55} *a*^{11} *p*^{h}*ɯ*^{44} *a*^{44} *v̩*^{55} *rə*^{44} *gv̩*^{53}[A] 'path of the ancestors of the New Year' from under the *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53} to the doorway. We completed a green, eight-centimeter wide path in about ten minutes.

Around two p.m., the sound of conches being blown suddenly broke the silence of the quiet valley, followed by the rattle-tattle of firecrackers. I felt anxious because Mother had told me that if we sacrificed very late on New Year's Eve, the clan's dead relatives and ancestors would become enraged and then crops mature late. This is why families compete to be the first to sacrifice to their ancestors.

I ran back into our house and saw Father cutting sandalwood. Mother and my sisters were busy cooking in the kitchen while Elder Brother was preparing the firecrackers. This is the most ceremonious part of the New Year. However, I was a child and only interested in firecrackers and watching them explode.

"Go with your elder brother and bring back a big dead tree trunk for a fire," Father commanded.

"No! Father I want to see the firecrackers," I objected.

"Quickly! Otherwise, we won't have a big New Year pig next year," Father said.

"Let's go far away and find the biggest one," Elder Brother suggested.

"Can you carry it if it is really big?" I worried.

"I have a rope. I can carry it on my back with the rope. Our New Year's pig will be very big next year if we can bring back the biggest one," he said and showed me the rope that he had already prepared.

"Yeah, let's go find the biggest one. I'm sorry I'm too small to help very much, Brother," I apologized.

We did bring a big trunk back home finally, but we were not sure if it was the biggest.

"May I play with one please, Brother?" I asked, squatting in front of him. I wanted to touch some of those attractive red bunches of firecrackers.

"No! Father will scold you if you do. Father said it is very dangerous for kids to play with them," he said sternly.

"OK! Everyone come prostrate to our ancestors," Father said, standing in front of the *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53}. The sacred sound of the conch echoed in my ears and then all of us prostrated in front of the ancestors while Father chanted:

ho^{53} da^{11} te^{11}, ta^{11} hũ^{11} da^{11} te^{11}	*Oh da te*, tonight is
la^{44} lu^{53} ti^{11} k^{h}v̩^{53} ru^{11} dja^{44}	The night of the Tiger Year
la^{44} lu^{53} ti^{11} k^{h}v̩^{53} ru^{11} k^{h}v̩^{44} ʂə^{55} su^{44}	The New Year of the Tiger Year
ʂə^{11} na^{11} v̩^{53} na^{53} no^{53} kɛ^{11} tɕ^{h}ə^{53}	We offer you meat and liquor…

I rushed out as soon as I received the *v̩*^{53} *dʐɯ*^{53}[B] from Father to see my elder brother setting off firecrackers.

[A] The pine needles are used to build a road for the ancestors when they join their living descendants during the New Year .

[B] *v̩*^{53} *dʐɯ*^{53} = liquor elders offered younger generations to drink after finishing the sacrifice just described was believed to be a lucky medicine with blessings from the ancestors.

"OK, tonight is the only chance we can all be together in the whole busy year. Our crops were very good last year, our livestock didn't get sick and none of our family members were ill. Everything has gone very well. From examining the pig's bladder of our New Year pig, our crops next year will grow well with enough water. The only thing that's a little unsure is that the spleen was..." Father continued while everyone else ate, enjoying the food.

"Don't talk so loud, your father is talking," Mother said.

"It's normal for siblings to disagree with each other and with us—your parents. We should care for and forgive each other. Especially, elders should be more patient with the younger ones," Father said, paused and took a sip of liquor.

"I want to go to visit our aunt's home in ʂa^{44} pa^{53} Village and…" said Younger Sister, seizing the chance when Father paused.

"Let your father finish first, kid," Mother said.

"Next year, your younger sister is going to marry. After that, we won't have much chance to celebrate the New Year together like tonight," Father said.

"Please eat, Father, you have been drinking a long time without eating very much," Elder Sister said in concern that Father would become badly drunk quickly.

"OK, I will. OK! Now everyone please say whatever you want to say," Father said and began eating.

"Right. Your elder sister is also going to marry and leave our home. Next year, if we care about each other and help each other, then there is nothing that can stop us, even though the spleen of the New Year is not as good as we wished," Mother said, taking over the speaking role Father had relinquished.

It was almost midnight and the candles on the sacrifice place gleamed in a dim, sacred way. We had earlier put the large end of the trunk in the hearth and, as it burned, we continued to push it back into the hearth. By the time we had finished the New Year meal, only a bit of the trunk had burnt.

"Oh, we haven't washed our legs," Elder Sister remembered.

"Yeah, I almost forgot. The big wooden basin is behind the door, and also we have to go to the stream and take enough water[A] for three days," Mother said, pointing to the door.

We nine family members washed our legs together in the big wooden basin because it encourages family unity and it brings good luck. Then my elder sister and brother went to fetch water and filled our home's water containers.

"I feel dizzy from drinking. You all please protect the ridges of the rice fields,"[B] Father said and then went to bed.

"Tonight, we should stay up all night to protect the edges of our rice fields edges, but please go to bed when you feel real sleepy," Mother encouraged.

"Mother, why should we stay up the whole night?" I asked.

[A] During the first, second and third days of the New Year, sentient creatures are believed to be resting. It is taboo for people to take water from a stream or even touch water in a stream. To do so is to destroy such life-forms in the water as frogs, fish and dragons.

[B] All family members are expected to stay at home through the night. One significance of doing this is that it protects the rice fields' edges from collapsing, in which case the fields drain and produce no crops.

"If we all sleep, nobody will keep our ancestors company and then the edges of the rice fields will surely collapse," Mother explained.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING ȵo˞^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11}.[A] Prolonged blares from the sacred conch woke me the next morning as I lay in bed. I realized Father was sacrificing to the ancestors again. The aromatic odor of smoldering *ɕy*^{11} *ɕy*^{44} and Father's chanting made me so energetic that I leapt out of bed.

"Please take this and sacrifice it before it gets cold,"[B] Father said, handing me a big bowl with three *ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11} as large as fists from the *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53}. I took the bowl and placed it for a moment besides each of the following places: the *qa*^{11} *pæ*^{11} 'by the hearth', *qʰo*^{11}*bo*^{11} *pæ*^{11} 'by the doorway', *ka*^{44} *dʙy*^{55} *pæ*^{11} 'by the kitchen' and the *tʰo*^{11} *po*^{11} *ʑi*^{11} *pæ*^{11} 'by the New Year pine tree' in the courtyard. Each time I placed the bowl in these locations, I bowed to show respect to the spirits that dwell there.

"Please have some *ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11}, then help your father *tʰo*^{11} *ka*^{11} *tɕʰy*^{53} 'stick pine needles'," Mother said, offering me a bowl of *ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11}.

"Now, don't blow on the fire. And be sure you don't pour water out today," she said as I was about to blow on the fire in the hearth to make myself warmer, holding the bowl of *bo*^{11}

[A] *ȵo˞*^{53} *po*^{11} is a type of rice plant that is twice as tall as ordinary rice plants or *dʑi*^{44} *po*^{11}. *ȵo˞*^{53} *po*^{11} grains are bigger and longer than *dʑi*^{44} *po*^{11} grains. *ȵo˞*^{53} 'grains of *ȵo˞*^{53} *po*^{11}' are steamed and then the resulting sticky substance is beaten with the blunt side of an ax, a mallet or a big hammer. It is then eaten with honey. Uncooked *ȵo˞*^{53} is called *ȵo˞*^{53} *ʐo*^{11} *tʂʰo*^{11}. After the boiled *ȵo˞*^{53} *ʐo*^{11} *tʂʰo*^{11} is removed from the same large pot it was boiled in, the pot is cleaned, dried and then oil is added. After the oil is hot, *ȵo˞*^{53} *ʐo*^{11} *tʂʰo*^{11} is added and the fire is reduced. The pot is covered and the *ȵo˞*^{53}*ʐo*^{11}*tʂʰo*^{11} cooks for ten to twenty minutes. After *ȵo˞*^{53}*ʐo*^{11}*tʂʰo*^{11} is cooked it becomes *ȵo˞*^{53} *ʐo*^{11}. Next, the *ȵo˞*^{53} *ʐo*^{11} is served and eaten in bowls. Salt may be added. Another food is made from *ȵo˞*^{53}: rice is soaked in water for several hours and then the grains are ground in a hand millstone in the home. The resulting thick white liquid (resembling yogurt) flows through a clean cloth into a *mo*^{44} *tsʰə˞*^{44} 'large bamboo container'. After the grinding is finished, a second clean cloth is put atop the first cloth and a thick layer of ash from the hearth is put atop the cloth to dry the mixture. The next morning, the mixture inside the *mo*^{44} *tsʰə˞*^{44} has solidified, is cut into pieces, dried under the sunshine and rolled in the hands. It easily breaks and becomes as fine as flour, which is put in a container. Water is then added and the mixture is kneaded into dough. Pinches of dough are rolled into balls and the balls are put in boiling water. The balls first sink to the bottom, but rise to the top when cooked. These balls '*ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11}' are served in bowls and eaten with honey. Few families made this at home in 2006. Instead, wet *ȵo˞*^{53} was taken to one of two homes in the village with a machine that ground it into the thick, yogurt-like liquid described above for a nominal fee. This was attractive because it was convenient. However, there was a consensus that *ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11} made in this way was not as tasty as *ȵo˞*^{53} *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11} made from hand-milled paste.

[B] Cold and odorless offerings do not please deities and ancestors. They delight in odors in the same way living humans enjoy drinking and eating.

ly^{44} *ly*^{11} in my right hand. "Please eat more. There's a lot left. It's not tasty after it's cold," Mother urged.

After I finished eating the *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11} I took a knife and cut carefully under the bark of the pine tree branches. This gave me strips of pine needles still attached to the bark. I then took bits of *bo*^{11} *ly*^{44} *ly*^{11} and coated the inside of the bark with it. I stuck the short strips of pine needles to the top edge of the *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53}, one or two strips on the *ʐɛ*^{11} *ʙu*^{11} 'pillars', several strips on the *ndɛ*^{11} *pɛ*^{11} 'both sides of the room', a neat row of strips above the *qʰo*^{11} *bo*^{11} 'door', a neat row of strips above the door of our home's three livestock (pigs, water buffalo, goats) rooms, a tidy row of strips above the *ka*^{44} *dʙy*^{55} 'kitchen' door, a tidy row of strips above the tobacco-drying room, and a tidy row of strips above the courtyard gate. And I did it in that order.

Father then drove our goats and water buffalo to the mountains to graze.

Later, I went to the *sa*^{44} *nda*^{55} where villagers had gathered. This meeting demonstrates traditional village leadership. Elders talk about what we have done that is good for our village and what should continue; they also discuss what has been detrimental for our village. Younger generations listen and often change their behavior accordingly, e.g., people should help families that request help in planting and harvesting crops.

It is also an opportunity for young villagers to enjoy themselves. Many young women in traditional clothing form a circle and dance. They are led by a man playing a *ka*^{44} *qy̩*^{53} 'short flute' until late at night. Others enjoy swinging and seesawing on the *sa*^{44} *nda*^{55} while yelling *a*^{53} *xo*^{53} *xo*^{53} and *a*^{53}*hr̩*^{53} *hr̩*^{53}.[A]

This gathering encourages a sense of unity among na^{53} mʐi^{53} villagers and a sense of wanting to help each other. Each family brings firewood, a piece of pork, a bottle of liquor and bowls, pots and wooden basins. Villagers cook and eat together.

Children are not very interested in cooking but are keen to compare their cooked pig feet. Children dressed in their *ba*^{11} *tsʰə*^{44} *ʂə*^{53} *tsa*^{11} 'new clothes' carry a pig foot in a fabric bag, gather in a children's group and compare their pig feet to see whose is biggest. Parents comfort children who are disappointed that their pig foot was not the largest by saying, "Oh, don't cry, don't cry, we will raise a very big New Year pig next year and you will surely win the competition." Children sit down together and happily gnaw their pig feet.

Elders return home in the evening. Young people make a huge bonfire and sing and dance until late at night from the first to third days of the New Year.

THE SECOND DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING ȵo^{53} *ʐo*^{11}*.* On the second day of the New Year people can only eat *ȵo*^{53} *ʐo*^{11}. They do not eat meat and soup. As was the case the previous day, people continue to gather in the village, dance, sing and enjoy themselves on the *sa*^{44} *nda*^{55}.

THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING ȵo^{44} *fr̩*^{53}*.*[B] The ancestors leave the home on the third day of the New Year. Sacrifices are made to the ancestors at home

[A] People yell to express excitement and happiness while playing on the *sa*^{44} *nda*^{44}.

[B] *ȵo*^{44} *fr̩*^{53} is made from *ȵo*^{53} flour. This is made into dough and pieces of the dough are formed into round flat pieces, put into a pot with hot melted lard in the bottom and then the dough pieces are mashed and beaten until they become larger and larger. The dough pieces are turned over repeatedly until they are cooked.

and in front of the graves; water is fetched from the stream and relatives begin visiting each other. People start sacrificing to the ancestors when the rooster crows at around five in the morning. *ȵo^{44} fɯ^{53}* is the main food that is offered to the ancestors in the morning.

"Why must we always get up so early to sacrifice?" I asked Mother.

"Our ancestors will complain that they cannot return with their friends if they must wait a long time for *ȵo^{44} fɯ^{53}*," she explained gently.

Every year, I was awakened by "*dong dong dong…*" the sound of Father beating[A] the *ȵo^{53}* cake in the kitchen. Everyone gets up and shows respect to the ancestors by prostrating to them, which also brings good luck. Simultaneously, the village is full of the sounds of conch horns being blown and the popping of firecrackers as *ȵo^{44} fɯ^{53}* is offered to the ancestors. In addition to sacrificing, the ancestors' graves are visited and offered *ȵo^{44} fɯ^{53}* after daybreak.

Some families invite others and especially children, for *q^{h}o^{11} bo^{11} ɴɢæ^{53}* 'Jump Through the Door'. It is taboo for people to visit each other or for domestic animals to leave one's own home until this simple ritual is performed. A child's zodiac year and the zodiac symbol associated with the New Year determine which children are invited.[B]

"Liujin, come jump through our door. Your zodiac year is the chicken," Qijin, a neighbor standing outside our courtyard door, called on the second day of the New Year.

"Yeah, sure, I'll be there soon," I said excitedly because I knew I would be given candy and money from ɕi^{53} vi^{53} and the family's ancestors.

"k^{h}y̩^{44} ʂə̰^{55} *a^{11} su^{44} su^{44} o^{11}* 'Is the New Year happy'?" I said, holding three sticks of smoldering Chinese incense in my right hand and standing outside the door of Qiqin's home.

"k^{h}y̩^{44} ʂə̰^{44} *su^{44} su^{44} o^{11}* 'The New Year is very happy', please come in quickly'," Qijin said, waiting for me inside his house.

I entered, put the three sticks of incense on their *ga^{53} ha^{53}* and prostrated three times in front of the *ga^{53} ha^{53}*. Qijin began chanting and beating a drum. Then he gave me a cup of liquor, which was a gift from ɕi^{53} vi^{53} and his family's ancestors. I drank it and was very happy to receive half a RMB after having breakfast at their home.

Relatives visit each other, bringing half a pig head and liquor, and also set off firecrackers. Commonly understood rules determine which pieces of pork to take when visiting. For example,

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[A] *ȵo^{44}fɯ^{53}* is a *ȵo^{53}* cake that is made by mixing and adding flour to cold water until it becomes thick, kneading it, taking a fist-size piece of dough, which is put it into a large pot containing hot oil on the kitchen stove. The dough is then beaten with a large heavy spatula until it becomes thin and wide. Salt is sprinkled on top.

[B] We are unsure of the rules that determine this.

when visiting parents and grandparents, half a pig head or a pig tongue is a suitable gift. Other families, including those of siblings, receive *la*^{11} *z̩u*^{44}.[A]

THE THIRD TO THE FIFTEENTH DAYS OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: RELATIVES VISIT EACH OTHER. People continue to visit and relax until the fifteenth day of the New Year. A local saying goes 'The fifteenth day of the New Year is far more important than the first day of the New Year', On the night of the fifteenth, the family cooks half a pig head and offers it to the ancestors, who return to the home, after having left on the morning of the third day.

Family members took the small, dry pine trees and circled the home, for the ancestors would be back to take them away the next morning. "The ancestors of the New Year will take away all the bad things of the last year," Father told me when I asked him why we did such things. The small pine trees cannot be removed from the home until the next New Year if any family members are absent (not at home at that moment, or those who did not return for the New Year rituals) because family members will fall ill.

On the fifteenth day of the New Year, Father walked through the rooms of our home, collecting the New Year pines and then circled the outside of the courtyard counterclockwise.

I returned to my home in January 2006 to celebrate the New Year with my family. I noticed traditions were changing fast. "Just put the pork on the *ga*^{53} *ha*^{53}, I feel lazy," Eldest Brother said to his son, Guoqiang (b. 1988), from where he was sprawled on the sofa watching TV.

"Wait a moment and I'll do it after this sitcom ends," Guoqiang said.

I said nothing but my heart felt heavy.

[A] Strips of pork are hung from the ceiling and over time, they become dry. However, during this time of visiting and presenting gifts, the pork (*la*^{11} *z̩u*^{44}) is fresh—not dry.

na^{53} mʑi^{53} ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

LIBU LAKHI'S ENGAGEMENT

1993

"Do you think you're very handsome? Do you think I cannot get another one? Do you…"

I ran and ran and dared not look back. The more I ran, the rougher and louder the voice became. There were four girls—ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55} (the one engaged to me) and three other girls—her friends—whose names I didn't know. Finally I slowed and saw that they had stopped chasing me.

The mountain, scattered with green trees, had taken on a yellowish twinge in the gleaming, diminishing sun. Boy shepherds drove their goats and sheep back to their households, hidden from view by the branches of trees growing on the mountain slope. Smoke rose straight into the blue sky from ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55}'s home. The outer yard was full of villagers. Suddenly, a gentle breeze sprang up, bringing the disagreeable odor of burning goat hair; a smell and sight I had seen many times before during weddings, funerals and engagement parties.

Father remained behind. I wanted to return and see him but I recalled the scolding and yelling I had received from the four girls and what Father had just said to me: "Son, go back home quickly and secretly. They seemed very angry. They won't do anything to an old man. I'll deal with everything."

I immediately did what he said, even though I was extremely interested in the children playing a wolf and sheep game. Father is the person I admire and respect the most. I never dared disobey him. He taught me how to use a gun on the mountain during hunting times, educated me about how to be brave and how to behave properly in daily life.

Hunger, exhaustion and the fact that it was getting dark urged me home. I recalled Mother's upset face and Brother's angry scolding, the result of my opposing the marriage they had arranged for me.

1988

"Liujin, quickly put these on," Father said, pushing a ball of a ragged shirt and a pair of trousers into my chest. I realized the black trousers were my elder brother's and the red shirt was my elder sister's. Both were covered with patches.

"Why?" I asked in confusion. I rarely wore clothes, even underwear—except during the several months of winter each year.

"We are going to dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} to visit your aunt, uncle and cousins," he replied while changing his own clothes.

"OK," I replied, quickly donning the trousers and shirt.

I was extremely excited because I had never before left the village where I was born.

The sky was bright and clean above the green mountain ridges. The rice plants in the rice fields near the winding river were vibrantly green. Farmers walked along the irrigation ditches between the fields, ensuring that water diverted from the river was properly irrigating

the fields. They did this as carefully as parents rear their children. Children swam in the pools in the river with the water buffaloes they were tending. The sounds of birds twittering in the trees beside the river and the laughter of children playing and splashing water at each other vibrated in a gentle breeze laden with the perfume of countless flowers. On the way, as we left the fields and climbed into the mountains, we heard various birds sing. I gazed in the direction of this music but I could not see any birds. Instead, some goat-like animals rushed into the thick forest, disturbed by the sounds of our arrival. Father carried two and half kilograms of liquor in a white plastic container. I followed energetically, delighted with my 'new' clothes.

"Father, what happened in Aunt's home?" I asked.

"Nothing special. We just want to visit. You can make friends and play with your cousins," he replied.

As soon as we reached Aunt's home, Father talked to their family members. I was very excited to meet them for the first time.

Slowly as darkness descended, more village kids gathered and we played wolf and sheep.[A] That was the happiest night of my childhood. We shouted and squealed as we escaped from the wolf. Finally, I was out of breath. When I felt my bare feet getting hot, I sat on the ground to watch the others play. Gradually, they came and sat around me, wearing curious expressions.

"Are you a girl or a boy?" ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55}, the one I was engaged to, asked curiously.

"Of course, I am a boy," I replied in irritation.

"No, you're wearing girl's clothes. You're a girl," another boy insisted. They all burst into laughter simultaneously.

My face seemed to burn. I called to Father but I got no reply.

"Oh, let's see," one said and then they all took turns putting their hands on my chest.

I was frightened by this bullying and ran back into the house, intent on telling Father about these kids' bad behavior. I was surprised as soon as I entered the room. Under the dim light of resin,[B] Father held the end of a small pig's gall bladder and was intoning loudly to the people who filled the room:

Tonight, we two families gather here
Tonight, Liujin and ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55} meet here
Like two bright stars meeting each other
Like the sun and the moon meeting each other
Like…

As soon as Father finished, ndza^{44} ha^{55}, ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55}'s father, took the gallbladder from Father's hands and repeated what Father had said, but in a slightly altered way.

"Father, what's this about?" I asked curiously, unable to control myself.

"Shut up! What does a seven year-old kid know?" he answered smiling, and resumed listening to ndza^{44} ha^{55}'s speech.

[A] A group of children make a line, each holding the child in front of them. The child at the front of the line is the 'ewe' and seeks to protect/block the children from being caught by the 'wolf' who is another child who faces the 'ewe'.

[B] Pinewood containing much resin is burned at night for lighting.

1993

I found myself at the foot of a huge tree trunk by the path that zigzagged up the mountain slope. I realized I had slipped and fallen in the darkness. Suddenly, everything was deadly quiet. It was hard to see the path at night. Everything I had just recalled was now utterly forgotten. My hair stood on end as a dark human-like figure loomed in front of me. I could hardly breathe. The figure became steadily larger. Fortunately, a dog's bark from far away encouraged me to look more carefully. It was only a tree trunk. Night birds began chirping and I started to sing loudly, quickening the speed of my steps without looking back.

All my family members were sleeping. Father's obedient hunting dog jumped up on me, wagging its tail at the door. After I ate some leftovers in the kitchen, I lay in bed, took a deep breath and tried to sleep.

I was afraid of Mother and Elder Brother's reaction the next day. The argument from the night before replayed: "Liujin, you will marry ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55} after you graduate from middle school in a year," Father said, sitting by the hearth after finishing dinner.

"What about my study? You mean I should just stop?' I demanded, continuing to eat my bowl of noodles.

"What you have learned in middle school is good enough. Think about us, your parents. We never went to school for even a day, but have almost finished dealing with our lives," Mother added.

"I want to continue studying in college after I graduate because I'll then be able to find a job and have a better life," I said, suddenly losing my appetite.

"From the days of our ancestors to our current generation, nobody has ever had an official job. Farming and herding are our fate. We depend on our land and livestock," Elder Brother said.

"Yes. Furthermore, our li^{44} ʁu^{55} Clan has no connections with important people, as do some families. It would be very hard to get an official job, even if you got more education and a diploma," Father said.

"I can find a job," I said. I wondered why not even one person from our li^{44} ʁu^{55} Clan had an official job. I made a strong decision that I would continue studying until I got an official job.

"I think it's better to return home, marry early and form your own family. We won't waste much money on that," Father said.

"Yes, don't go to school anymore. We know you have tried very hard at school. But for a poor family with seven kids, this is the best way to…" Mother started.

"Yes, it's the best way. We can marry her into our home this winter," Father said.

"Then there'll be another family," Mother said.

"No, no, no, I won't. I won't. I want to continue to go to school and find a job," I said.

Elder Brother Bajin had come to our home that night to help convince me to stay at home and marry, rather than studying Tibetan in Kangding. "It's useless to study Tibetan. You won't find a job in the future," he said.

"Yes, but Liujin won't listen to us," Mother said.

"I have always listened to you. But this is so significant that I can't consent. I want to study and I especially want to learn Tibetan because I am Tibetan," I said and started packing in preparation for leaving the next day. A heavy stone lay on my heart.

"Don't be silly. Listening to your parents is always right. You're still young. You don't know many things. Listen to us," Father said, taking out his pipe, getting ready to smoke.

"It's so stupid that you want to study Tibetan. This is China. It's better to get married and make a family of your own rather than wasting four years in that Tibetan school," Bajin said.

"I want to learn Tibetan. I just want to, I don't know why, Brother," I said.

"Where will the money come from? It doesn't grow on trees. I have no money to support your study," Bajin said angrily.

"I don't need even one *yuan* from you for my school fees," I said, pointing the index finger of my right hand at him suddenly, a very rude gesture in na^{53} mʑi^{53} culture.

He stared at me for a long time in surprise. Later I regretted and felt guilty for having behaved that way. He bought gifts for me when I got the top score in my class. And he was the one who always encouraged me to study hard in both primary and middle school. Every time his family cooked some special food he invited me to his home to eat. He always supported me. I didn't understand why he had changed his mind.

"Shut up! You don't know how hard it was to raise you guys from infants to this stage and now you behave like this," Mother continued.

"Please inform them that I will never marry her until I finish my study and find a job," I said.

"How can we just go there and say that? If we do, our families will become enemies," Brother said.

"No, no!" I shouted and ran outside.

I found myself in the water buffalo stable in the darkness. Tears streamed down my face and drenched my sleeves.

"Liujin, Liujin, where are you?" Father called.

"Brother, Brother..." my younger sister called.

I knew all of my family members were looking for me. They soon came to me, holding torches of wheat stalks.

"My dear son, come back and sleep. You must get up early tomorrow and go to school," Father said gently.

"No, I won't until you all agree that I don't have to marry her," I said. Father then promised that whatever happened he would help me continue to attend school.

"Come back and sleep. I promise you will go to school as long as you want. We will try our best to support you, even though our family condition is not very good," he said, holding my right hand. Then I followed him.

That night I slept with Father and it was one the most comfortable and unforgettable nights of my childhood.

The cackling of our neighbor's rooster awakened me the next morning. I got up and decided to stay at home another day. The next day, Father returned with the outcome of the consultation with my bride-to-be—we paid 700 RMB, a goat and five kilos of liquor. None of us went to the field to work that day, although Younger Brother went to herd on the mountaintop. A goat, five kilos of liquor and 700 RMB were worth about 1,000 RMB—an astronomical sum at that time for a poor family of ordinary farmers.

2005

I arrived in dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} Village in the late afternoon to attend a funeral. After a night of funeral rituals, singing and dancing I was exhausted and hungry the next morning. My sister-in-law brought me to a neighbor's home to end my gnawing hunger. A woman with a baby on her back served me. "Please make yourself at home and eat. You are a student and must have been tortured a lot last night," she said, bringing me a wooden bowl of cooked beef and a second bowl of beef soup.

"Yes, yes," I replied respectfully.

"Add chili and salt as you like," she said, placing small bowls of salt and chili on the table and then handing me a pair of chopsticks.

"Yes, yes," I said.

I ate as soon as I got the chopsticks. I finished three bowls of rice without so much as raising my head. She saw me stop eating and came over. "Please eat more, please eat more," she encouraged.

"Oh, I'm full, I'm really full," I replied with a smile and saw her face turn red.

"Please…" she said and then turned and fled without completing the sentence.

"Why did she behave like that? Is she falling in love with me? Have I done something wrong?" I wondered.

Sister-in-law came in at that moment and said, "OK, we're leaving."

Our hostess came to the courtyard gate to see us off and said, "OK, please go slowly, go slowly."

On the way, Sister-in-law laughed and asked, "Did you recognize her?"

"Who?" I said.

"The one who served you," she said.

"No. Who is she?" I said, puzzled.

"ʁu^{44} vɛ^{55}, the one you were engaged to a long time ago," she said.

"What? You mean she is …" I said in astonishment.

SANJIN'S[A] ARRANGED MARRIAGE

"Save me, Brother. I beg you. You're the only one who can save me from danger. It is only one week—seven days. They are forcing me to marry. I hate everything and everyone around me. Everything around me seems to press me down. I only want to get out of this darkness…"

"What's wrong? How can I help?" Meiduo's voice broke my reverie after I finished reading the letter from my distant home.

"Read this," I said and handed her the letter. She was not only my classmate, but also a good friend. She took it gently with a nod. I soon discovered tears flowing down her cheeks, dropping on the letter in her hands, written in pencil.

"Dawa, don't worry. First let's help her get out of there and into our school. She can stay with us. We can try to find a restaurant job for her. Oh, I never heard of such a pitiful girl in this world," she said, wiping her cheeks and sniffling.

[A] Sanjin = three *jin* or one and a half kilograms.

"Is it possible?" I asked.

She nodded.

I was extremely impressed by her compassionate, loyal and pure heart. However, I still hesitated for I was not in my hometown. The Sichuan Tibetan Language School is located in Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. I had no relatives, no money and no home there. I was still a mere vocational school student—a drop of water in an ocean. What could I do for my younger sister? Bring her to Kangding?

A couple of days later I called a Han family who, at that time, had the only phone in our village. They charged other villagers to use it. I eventually was able to talk to my second eldest brother. He is considered the most decisive and smartest among my siblings. "Women! They'll follow a dog if married to a dog and follow a chicken if married to a chicken. Ignore her. She refuses now, but she won't later. Just do your study," he said impatiently.

I put the receiver down heavily and did not know what to do. I could not concentrate on my study. Was it really true that women did whatever their husbands wanted? Should women always follow men? These questions went through my mind and then I decided that I must try to help my sister. Then I faced many questions: Where would she stay if she came to my school? What would she do? Where was the money for food? What if she got ill? What if something happened to her during the journey? Ignore it? She was only fifteen. Would she commit suicide? Would her husband be good to her after she married?

"Dawa, go eat. The other students have finished," Meiduo said. I was sitting under a pine tree by our school's sports ground.

"I have no appetite," I said.

"Come on. It's important to not get too preoccupied. Your studies will suffer," Meiduo said.

"There's nothing in my heart except my younger sister right now," I replied.

"Everything will be OK. We'll figure it out," Meiduo said.

"I won't be OK until I have solved this," I said.

"I think Aunt Xiaohong will help. She's very kind," Meiduo said with sudden inspiration.

I didn't know very much about this woman. The students referred to her as 'Aunt Xiaohong'. She was a widow, her son was twelve and her late husband had been a teacher. She was the door guard at the girl's dormitory. I hesitated and didn't visit her until noon the next day.

"Aunt Xiaohong, I'm in great trouble. I don't know if you can help me," I said meekly, plucking the window's metal bars. Boys were not allowed to enter the girls' dormitory.

"*Ya*, say it. What is it?" she stared at me directly. "Just say it. Quickly, what happened?" she said.

"My sister is going to marry in six days. This has been arranged by my parents and relatives…" after I said this I felt a little excited and relieved and explained the situation in detail. However, my heart was pounding. This and my hot face made me uncomfortable. I observed her reaction periodically now and then.

"Oh, I see. Sure, she can stay and eat with me if she doesn't mind. How terrible. You should bring her here," she said.

"Thank you, Aunt Xiaohong. Thank you very much. I'll start on this immediately. Thank you," I blurted out, a tingling sensation filling my body.

"Don't worry," Aunt Xiaohong said.

Many people encouraged me. I felt confident. Yes, I would do it. For me, an eighteen-year-old boy, it all seemed believable and true.

I phoned her after afternoon classes. "Younger Sister, can you come to Kangding by yourself?" I asked.

"Sure. But nobody will give me bus fare," she said.

"Don't worry. I'll send it to you in an express envelope. Go to town and check the post office every day beginning three days from now," I said.

"OK. Will you meet me at the Kangding Bus Station?" she asked.

"Of course," I said.

"But I'm worried about how to…" she said.

"Go to the Xichang Bus Station and get a Xichang-Kangding ticket after you get the money. It's a direct bus. Make sure you call me right after you get the letter," I said.

I had already paid the money I had earned from doing construction work during the last vacation to our school's cafeteria for my food bill so I borrowed one hundred RMB from a teacher. I put the money and a piece of paper with general instructions into an envelope, sent it by express mail and waited for her phone call.

Beside a rumbling river, our school settled into relative silence. A road ran abreast of the river, stretching out from the valley. In the early morning, an opaque sun rose drowsily from above a snow-covered mountain summit, shooting out colorful, glimmering rays. Students entered the classroom building, bustling with books under their arms and in their Tibetan robe pouches, which made them appear pregnant. On every floor of the building, students read as they slowly paced back and forth to the melodic songs of morning birds perched in trees around the schoolyard. Other students mopped and cleaned the area in front of the classroom. Suddenly, the sounds of morning chanting emanated from the whole building and, as they mixed with the songs of birds, the whole ambiance was that of a remote monastery. I sat in my classroom and prayed that all would be well with my sister.

I waited and waited... three days, two days, one day...

"Hi, Brother... I'm so scared. Everyone hates me and I hate everyone except you…" she said and rushed into my arms.

"Thank the gods. You arrived safely. Oh, thank the gods. Now no one can force you to marry someone you don't love. You are completely free," I exulted, wiping away tears from her delicate cheeks with trembling hands.

"Will they come to kill our parents and burn down our house?" she asked.

"No, wealth and position do not make them above the law," I said.

"But how can we live without a single relative?" she asked.

"I'll ask help from Brother Bajin. He has saved more than 30,000 RMB. He's the richest person in our village," I said.

"But you said you would never ask for any of his money," she said.

"Oh, yes. I do remember," I said.

"I have an idea... Let's go to the mountain top and ask çi^{53} vi^{53} for help," I said.

A compassionate-looking face appeared under a huge tree trunk. Green thick leaves under the blue sky contrasted sharply with the whiteness of several tufts of clouds floating by. "What do you want children?" the face asked.

"Your holiness, we have come for help," I said.

"I see everything. You, girl, escaped from an arranged marriage. You, boy, have disobeyed your family. You compassionate and brave children. You have experienced pleasure and suffering. Come, there is no sorrow, no…"

I found myself in bed with my eyes full of tears. It was five o'clock the next morning.

"Hello, this is Liujin. May I speak to my sister?" I said after dialing my second older brother's home.

"Oh, sorry. She is still at her wedding…" an impatient voice grumbled.

I rushed up the mountain behind our school. I gasped tearfully. Sweat washed my face. The river and road grew increasingly vague. An eagle hovered and squawked in a cold strong wind under the cloud-littered sky.

I set out with my friends from Liangshan Prefecture for the bus station several months later. The winter holiday had just begun. We were going home. We were the only ones on the quiet, frozen street at such an early hour. Towering buildings and tall streetlights on both sides seemed to be sentinels.

About fifteen hours later I was at home and quickly I was being questioned. "Did you really think you could take responsibility for her if we had given her the one hundred RMB you sent?" Bajin asked.

I said nothing.

"How dare you, a mere student, knowing only a little Tibetan…" he scolded.

I said nothing.

The next morning I chatted with my sister in our vegetable garden, "You changed your mind, Sister?"

"They did not let me go to town after your last phone call," she sobbed. "Our nephew, Guoqiang, was beside me when we talked on the phone."

"He repeated what we said?" I asked.

"Yes, to Mother. Later, she went to the post office every day and didn't let me leave the home. She got the letter and pretended nothing had happened before I married…" she sobbed, unable to continue.

It became darker and we returned home.

"Why did all of you force her, Mother?" I asked.

"What does she know? Pula's family is the richest in the Xichang area. Her husband, Lopa, is also not bad. They are attracted by her height and beauty. As someone with only a primary school education, she should understand but she doesn't," Mother said.

"But she has never liked that guy," I said.

"She's a child. Where else can we find a family as rich as this one? She'll accept this if all of us work together and persuade her. What other future has she got?" Mother said.

"Right. Her father-in-law works for the County Education Bureau. He probably can help you after you graduate," Father said.

"Money and position cannot replace true love. You made the decision without her agreement, without a phone call to me. It's her life," I said loudly.

"I also married your father this way, child," Mother said.

"Mother, times are different," I said.

"In fact, she agreed," Mother said.

I said nothing.

"Mother said you actually agreed. Did you?" I asked while we were herding the goats together on the mountain the next day.

"I had no idea what else to do. Mother said she would jump into the river in front of our house if I didn't agree. Everyone says I'm so stupid for being unhappy to join such a wealthy family," she said, tears rolling down her face again.

New Year's Eve soon came and the whole village exploded with the sound of blaring conches and drumbeats as sacrifices were made for the ancestors while the sun beamed crimson rays into the valley from above the mountains. In the evening, all my family members surrounded a circular table laden with various foods after we had finished sacrificing to our ancestors.

"This year, everything has gone well. No one got sick, no livestock died and we had a good harvest. Tonight is the last night of the whole year and it is also the last New Year party with my daughter, Sanjin," Father began.

According to local custom, everyone should say something about both the New Year and the past year. The order of giving these little speeches is from the oldest to the youngest family members. Everyone was eating and listening except Sanjin. She put her head down. I couldn't see her face.

"After New Year, we will choose a day and send Sanjin there," Father continued, holding a cup of liquor.

"No, I won't go for at least two years," Sanjin retorted in a low weak voice, her head still bent down.

"You devil! You want my head?" Mother scolded viciously. The rage in this utterance pushed my head down as though it were a boulder.

"Quickly, follow her!" Father said, scolding Mother. Sanjin had fled.

We all rushed out in the darkness, searching and calling Sanjin's name with burning rice-straw torches. My hair stood on end. I felt bewildered. "Go to the river, quickly!" Father ordered and we raced to the river, holding the torches high. But we found nothing except ruthless rocks and the sound of quickening water. Some neighbors came and tried to help. My heartbeat slowly returned to normal only when we were told she had been seen running along the road in the direction of the township. We started off in that direction and soon I saw Father holding a torch high in one hand while the other was holding sniffling, sobbing Sanjin.

Father offered liquor and incense to $\c{c}i^{53}$ vi^{53} at the sacrifice place, for nothing bad had happened to my younger sister after we returned home. Mother sat silently in her previous seat.

That night I could not sleep. Numerous questions presented themselves: "What should I do? What could I do? Yes, I was just a student who knew only a little Tibetan as Bajin said. Should I help her reject our family's decision?"

"I got a phone call from Pula's family. They are waiting," said Bajin the next morning.

"Tomorrow is perfect. You'll have to leave for school soon. We all should go and have fun," Father said, looking at me. "Bring the flute for dancing," he continued, looking at Jiujin. He played the flute very well even though he was a quiet young man.

Some hours later, Father and my siblings were sitting in Pula's house after a long journey on foot.

"Is he Daka Liwa who works for the County Education Bureau?" I whispered to Jiujin, motioning to a bald man in his forties wearing a black jacket. My brother nodded and I expected that he would say something very cultivated.

"You didn't bring your daughter before the New Year. Now you come. Looking for what? My dick?" he exploded in Nuosu.[A] We all sat up and pointed fingers at each other. Fortunately, many people mediated. My niece and Sanjin cried out in fear.

The next day, in spite of Pula's family's persuasion, Sanjin returned home with us.

"I will never let my daughter pass through their doorway again," Father said angrily from his seat by the fireplace.

"You should be patient. He was probably drunk," Mother responded.

"You are always on their side, widow," Father retorted.

"That's the result of liking wealth," Bajin inserted.

"They must separate for we have seen what happened," I suggested.

"Just go back to school and do your stuff," Bajin said.

We all sat in silence.

A month later I was back in school, holding this letter in my hands:

> Dear Brother,
>
> How is everything at school? I miss you very much. I got a job in a Tibetan restaurant in Xichang. I am paid 300 RMB per month so I can live. After your departure, they agreed to send me back because Pula's family sent 1,000 RMB to apologize. Father tried to help me end the engagement but Bajin and Mother disagreed. The night I arrived there, Lopa came back at midnight reeking of liquor. He scolded, "Bitch! Get as far away from me as you can. Do you think your family clan is better than ours? I'll find someone much better than you with the money from one night's gambling. Get out of here!" I tried to run off but he pushed me against the wall. Finally I escaped and ran into a home. I heard they spent 60,000 RMB on the wedding. What an amount for us poor people. I will never go there again…"

I folded the letter and put it inside my Tibetan history textbook.

After class, I went to our school's apple orchard hoping this exposure to Nature would cheer me, but I turned away immediately in embarassment when I saw Tsering and Drolma sitting arm in arm under a tree.

[A] He probably spoke in Nuosu because most na[53] mʐi[53] in his village speak Nuosu.

Four years passed and I was a student at Qinghai Normal University.

The winter holiday came again and I returned for the New Year. "Where is Father?" I asked Mother after I put down my bag.

"He is on the mountain grazing our livestock. Go visit him and come back together," she said. She was delighted to see me.

I brought the two and half kilograms of butter and a bottle of spirits that I had brought from Qinghai and started up the mountain. I came to a small yellow wood surrounded by grassland. Goats and water buffalo stood around a bungalow but I didn't see Father. He appeared from behind the bungalow after I called to him loudly.

"Did you visit your sister in Xichang on your way back?" he asked after we talked about my education.

"No, I lost her phone number, Father," I said.

"How pitiful your younger sister is. She could only cry. I wanted to break the engagement but your mother scolded me terribly. They all forced her. My heart was broken," Father said.

"Let's go down. Then we all can talk together," I advised after having dinner in his small, dark, smoke-stained room.

"No, I like it here. It's quiet with my livestock and the bird songs in the forests. They know nothing but watching TV the whole night and cannot get up the next morning. Take this flashlight. It's already dark. Bring some salt and rice for me and when you have time, come stay with me and read," he said, passing me a flashlight. I felt uncomfortable leaving him alone on the mountain and stayed with him that night. Tears filled my eyes when I touched his body for it seemed to be a bag of bones.

"Mother, why don't we bring her back? Many unpleasant things have happened," I advised.

"We are in the middle of the river and Pula's family is extremely angry right now," she replied.

"We can also retreat because she has never liked him. We can earn money slowly, selling livestock. It's OK if all our family members are healthy," I said.

"Your father absolutely agreed at first. Why did he change his mind? It's your father controling her. It's not that she doesn't agree to go to Pula's home," she said, becoming angry.

I said nothing.

"If we all agree... she is just a child... persuade your father and..." she said.

"Children are also human, Mother," I said.

"How pitiful I am. I have raised seven children for him. In your eyes I am nothing," she said, tears rolling down her cheeks.

I felt guilty for it seemed I was the only one who had made Mother cry.

After the New Year period, the husband of one of my older cousins visited our home in the morning and said, "They are very angry. They want 60,000 RMB. They will burn your house if you don't pay." We then called Sanjin and she came to our home that evening.

"Get up and ask her the last time. They will come soon. I'm afraid," Mother said the next morning. I got up and took Sanjin outside.

The yellow sun strode skyward from behind a red earth mountain covered with leafless trees. Bamboo groves grew behind our house. Green wheat terraces were on both sides of the winding river at the valley bottom. The songs of morning birds lingered throughout the valley.

"So, you will never go back, will you? We wouldn't be in this situation if you had got the letter four years ago. I'm also afraid of Mother's crying," I said.

"Brother, if you have no courage then I will return, like a dog. I feel sorry if you will be unable to find a job because of my behavior," she said and began sobbing. Through my own tears, I saw smoke from our chimney stabbing into the sky.

I wrung my fists tightly and said, "Don't worry Sister, you will never go back." Then we went to my oldest brother's home for breakfast. Afterwards, we started back to our parents' home. When we got near, we saw four red vans parked by the road.

Men were standing in groups and smoking in our yard as I entered our home. They silently stared at me. The house was full of people. Some were sitting along the wall; others were sitting on a piece of cloth and some leaned against the pillar in the middle of the room. A bald man caught my attention and I remembered what he had said earlier. He raised his head a little to look me over. Then he resumed his motionless black-leather-clad posture, as unmoving as a stone.

"Is he the one studying in Qinghai?" a man asked.

I nodded with a forced smile. I took a pack of cigarettes and offered one to each person even though I didn't know who they were. The hearth was lifeless. Cigarette smoke filled the room as though a fire of wet, smoldering wood was trying to burn. Mother sat by the hearth in front of the sacrifice place because Father hadn't returned from the pasture.

"Will Uncle come, Mother?" I said, making conversation with her when I realized nobody wanted to talk to her even though she was the oldest person in the room.

"He will come," Mother answered.

More people came and Father also returned. He bowed a little, came in and said, "You are all welcome." I could see his exposed belly from under his green soil-stained clothes.

"Is everything going well in your village?" he politely asked, while removing his shoes and then beating them against a stone beside the fireplace to shake the soil loose into the fireplace.

Father pinched my calf surreptitiously and I followed him outside. "Take care of your younger sister. Break them into pieces if someone comes to beat her," he said.

"OK, Father," I said.

"I'll stab my dagger into Daka Liwa's throat if he dares touch me. This will get rid of it I think," he said, hiding his dagger under his clothes.

"Don't worry, they won't dare," I said calmly.

Fortunately, mediators separated us after dinner. Daka Liwa's group went to another home. Later, three of Daka Liwa's representatives—two na^{53} mẓi^{53} and one Nuosu—came to our home and the discussion resumed (in Nuosu).

"We need a wife for our son. Is there any possibility that you can persuade your daughter to return with us?" their helpers asked, beginning a long period of negotiation.

"We have never stopped persuading. Let's ask Sanjin," Father responded.

"Say it! Quickly Sanjin!" some villagers whispered beside her.

"I went to Pula's family because my parents asked me to. Ask your Lopa what he did," Sanjin said, raising her voice.

"OK. We spent 60,000 RMB for the marriage entertainment. Now we need 180,000 RMB for what we spent and to recover our family's honor," they retorted.

"Please listen. I grew up nursing my mother's milk and ate solid food when I grew older. I did not grow up being threatened and frightened," Father said angrily and loudly.

They left, very displeased after Father said that.

"Wow! It will probably take three days and three nights to settle this," some villagers murmured.

A big fire glimmered in the open air in front of the home where Daka Liwa's group stayed. Some of them drank liquor nearby. Others slept in their clothes. Liquor fumes floated in the air and laughter broke the serene dark night every now and again.

Finally, the mediators came up with a decision the next morning that surprised the villagers: We were to pay 20,000 RMB and two pigs.

"Will you go back to Xichang, Sanjin? Shouldn't you stay at home?" I asked.

"Why not? Who will pay for her? She has to earn the money by herself," Mother said, not letting her speak.

Sanjin and I carried our bags and left home three days later. She returned to her restaurant job in Xichang and I returned to school.

In dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11}, na^{53} mʑi^{53} mostly marry other na^{53} mʑi^{53} from dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʙu^{11}, ʂ̩a^{44} pa^{53} and dʐ̩ə^{11} qu^{11} villages. There are certain rules about who can marry whom, e.g., it is taboo to marry one's mother's sister's daughter or father's brother's daughter. It is acceptable to marry one's mother's brother's daughter. To marry one's father's sister's daughter is considered the best marriage.

Occasionally, two families meet and discuss their children marrying when they are older. At this meeting *va^{11} ʙu^{44} tʂ̩ə^{11} ly^{11}*[A] 'examining a pig's gallbladder' is done. A piglet is killed and both sides check the bile. If the gallbladder is full of bile, it signifies that the marriage will be very successful. If the gallbladder is only half full of bile or less than half full, it suggests that the marriage will be usual. Engagement never proceeds if there is no bile.

Little children who are engaged know nothing about adult married life. When Libu Lakhi was engaged at the age of five, he was delighted with the meat that was served at the meeting and the company of other children, including the girl he was being engaged to. At this engagement meeting, the date of the eventual marriage was decided as well as how much money the boy's family should give the girl's family—800-5,500 RMB. Usually, half of this sum is given at the engagement meeting and the other half at the actual wedding years later.

On the wedding day, the groom's parents invite a *p^{h}a^{53} tsɚ^{53}* to their home to choose one or two young men who will greet the bride on the basis of the young man's zodiac year compatibility with the zodiac year of the bride. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsɚ^{53}* also directs seven young men to go in and out of the doorway in turn, seven to nine times carrying bottles of wine, a conch and a round bamboo container of roasted beans and wheat flour.

[A] *va^{11} ʙu^{44}* = piglet; *tʂ̩ə^{11}* = piglet's bladder; *ly^{11}* = to examine.

A man stands behind the door and closes the door when the young men exit. He then offers a cup of liquor to the person who first enters. For this reason, a young man who likes to drink is always shoved to the front. Usually the group consists of seven or nine young men chosen by the *pʰa⁵³ tsə⁵³*.

Within the group of seven young men, two blow conch horns and must not stop blowing until they reach the family hearth in front of the home sacrifice place. When they reach the fireplace, they toss a little barley flour into the fire and yell, "*xwe⁵³… xwe⁵³…*".

After these preliminary activities are completed, the bride-greeters go to the bride's home leading a strong horse and carrying a stick tied with colorful pieces of fabrics '*tju⁴⁴ mbzə⁵⁵*'.

The time required to reach the bride's home depends on the locations of the bride and groom's homes. When the bride-greeters reach the bride's home, the bride's friends and relatives gather outside the bride's home's gate awaiting the arrival of the bride-greeters. The young women and older girls stand by both the courtyard entrance and the door of the home with hidden wooden buckets of water and dippers.

The bride-greeters know all this but they must proceed. The girls prevent the bride-greeters from entering the courtyard gate by throwing dippers of water on them. Once inside the house, the girls continue to throw water on the men until the men give them a satisfactory amount of money. It is winter, and the cold water and cold weather make the men uncomfortable.

After the water-throwing ritual, a meal is served of goat meat, pork, mutton, rice and meat soup. The meat is in fist-sized chunks and people usually eat it with their hands.

After the meal, older people begin singing about how the bride should be a proper woman in her husband's home. Generally, the first singers are the bride's parents, uncles and elder siblings. Next, the bride-greeters and the bride's side sing back and forth to each other with the bride's side expressing concern about the bride's future in the groom's home and the bride-greeters reassuring that all will be well.

The bride laments about her imminent departure and her friends sing songs to comfort and encourage her.

The bride's side decides how many people and who will escort the bride to the groom's home, as well as the departure time.

At around five a.m. people get up and ready everything. Before sunrise, a *pʰa⁵³ tsə⁵³* does religious activities at the bride's home similar to the activities done at the groom's home.

In most cases, it is a one day walk to the groom's home. Women prepare the bride with na⁵³ mʐi⁵³ clothing, jewels, a black fabric hat and a colorful scarf that covers her head. It is an absolute rule that nobody can remove the scarf until the bride reaches the groom's home. Usually, about twenty people are in the bride's entourage. The most important people are the bride's uncle (father's brother) and brother. On the way, her brother must lead the horse and ensure that the scarf continues to cover her head. All female members of the entourage are dressed traditionally.

Once they reach the groom's home, the groom's mother removes the scarf in the sitting room and says, "My son's wife is very beautiful," and happily reaches into a bamboo container of rice with a wooden spoon. She puts a spoonful of rice into the bride's mouth, which the bride chews and swallows. Next, the groom's mother reaches into a wooden container of meat soup and puts this into the bride's mouth, which she also swallows.

Later in the day, the guests and groom's side compete in dancing, telling jokes, wrestling and singing far into the night.

The next day, all the na^{53} mʑ̩i^{53} families in the village invite the entourage to their homes. Pigs, goats and sheep are butchered, chopped into pieces and cooked. People sing and dance the whole day. Women and men of the same generation put pot soot on each other's faces, creating much laughter.

At night, the guests return to the groom's home and make merry before the bride's entourage leaves the next day. The game *ʙu*^{44} *dzə*^{55} *qv̩*^{53} *qv̩*^{53} *ʂu*^{11} 'searching for the hole of the earthworm' is played. First, two young men dressed in traditional female clothing each hold a buffalo horn filled with liquor. They pretend to be a mare and a stallion. They move around, searching for 'the hole of the earthworm'. They say, "Where is the hole of the earthworm?" when ordered to do so by old people sitting by the hearth. Audience members periodically say, "It is there!" "It is here!" while pointing their fingers. The two performers rush in the direction suggested. People laugh excitedly when the 'mare' speaks in a female voice or when the 'stallion' mounts the 'mare's' back, in imitation of horses.

Before the guests leave the next morning, a *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsə*^{53} comes and gives money to the female guests and the bride's brother and uncle. Usually, the uncle receives one hundred RMB, the brother gets five RMB and each of the female guests receive two RMB. The money is believed to be from ɕi^{53} vi^{53}. The hosts hold a bottle of liquor and cups and stands in front of the departing guests, offering them a last cup of liquor to bid them much luck and farewell. Many older women guests lament when they leave the bride. Songs are sung between the two sides. These songs continue to be sung even when the guests are far out of sight.

MONSTER ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}

The *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} is a female monster with very long breasts and long fingernails that often appears in na^{53} mʑ̩i^{53} stories. "Don't cry or *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} will come with her long breasts flung over her shoulders..." my parents said when I cried. Every time they said this, the hair on my head stood up and I stopped crying immediately. At night, children dare not go outside to urinate after their parents or other adults tell *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} stories.

Children are unafraid of *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} during the day, except when livestock graze on ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} ts^{h}o^{53} ro^{44} Mountain. *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} refers to *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11}, *ts*^{h}*o*^{53} means 'dance' and '*ro*^{44}' refers to the place where *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} dance. *ts*^{h}*o*^{53} is particularly frightening because it specifically refers to the dance done at funerals. The mountain has many pine trees. Goats and sheep enjoy grazing lush grass at the foot of the mountain. When goats and sheep go there, children dare not follow them. They stare at the mountain and think of *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11}. Recalling the sentence "*hũ*^{11} *ɴɢv̩*^{11} *te*^{11} *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} *tʙu*^{11} *ma*^{11} *ʑ̩i*^{11} *m̩*^{11} *o*^{44} *ts*^{h}*o*^{53} *qv̩*^{11} *ji*^{11} *so*^{11}" "It was said that thousands of *ts*^{h}*o*^{11} *ro*^{44} *mi*^{11} dance and sing there at night," which mothers say many times, children routinely return home without bringing their livestock back.

NOVEMBER 6, 2003 (SATURDAY). At around one p.m., I went to tʂʰə^{11} dʑa^{11} pʰa^{53} tsə^{53}'s (b. 1929) home in dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11}. He is one of Father's best friends. I had heard that he had become blind when he was seventy-eight. Now he is seventy-nine and because he and his wife do not get along with each other, he lives separately from his wife and two sons in a small, low adobe room in his family's courtyard. I yelled, "Uncle tʂʰə^{11} dʑa^{11}!" from far away, holding a stick in my hands. I heard an old man's voice amid a dog's fierce barking. I remembered my family had invited him to our home to do religious activities many times. He was very welcome in my village when I was a child even though he was from dʑa^{53} qa^{53} tʁu^{11} Village.

A moment later, the old man, who was outside his room in the front of the courtyard, scooted on his bottom to me and asked, "Who is this?" while looking around with both eyes closed.

I said my name loudly. He recognized who I was and led me back to his low, small shelter. I started to feel sad while he was feeling around for *mo^{53} zə^{53} vɛ^{11} ŋga^{11}* '*rtsam pa*'.

"Please have some *mo^{53} zə^{53} vɛ^{11} ŋga^{11}*. That's all I have, kid. How is your study?" he said, trying to get a bowl of *mo^{53} zə^{53} vɛ^{11} ŋga^{11}* for me from a wooden box, but I refused.

"My study is going very well. My father asked me to give you his regards," I said.

"Oh, I'm very happy to hear that. Please tell your father to come see me when he has time. I am old and blind and cannot go anywhere now in the forest. Nobody comes to invite me to do rituals now that I'm blind..."

"Uncle, I need to record chants and Father said you are the best," I said.

"Great! That's what I dream about everyday. You know, I have two sons. One is never interested in this kind of thing; the other learnt half of how to be a *pʰa^{53} tsə^{53}* but then he gave up and never mentioned trying again. I am very sad about this. Now, finally today here is someone to continue my work. I will try my best to teach you!"

"No, Uncle, I'm not trying to be a *pʰa^{53} tsə^{53}*. My parents don't agree. I also have to continue my study. I just want to record your chants and keep them. Otherwise they will be lost."

"OK. That's still very good. You can record them. It is better than them being lost. Yes, please study hard and then you can find a job. But please also come see me with your father often when you have time. Only your father understands my chanting and I feel very close to him because of that."

"Uncle, I can't stay here very long. How long will it take if I record all your chants?" I asked.

"At least seven days, but only having the chants is not helpful. You also need to study and practice the rituals. There are many things you will never understand until you have experienced them," he said.

"I don't have time to study, I just need to record the chants now," I said.

"OK. Let's go outside. Maybe you feel a little bit cold inside here and outside is very quiet," he said.

I helped him collect his drum and cymbals. We went outside and he started chanting while beating his drum and cymbals. He concentrated deeply. Listening to him chanting, I remembered when I was five to eight years old and Father had invited him to do rituals. Our

house was crowded. Everyone respected him and believed in him. I had then wished to become a *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}*.

Some time passed. His lips were dry from chanting loudly, so I asked him to rest for a while.

"You know kid, I did *pi^{11}* 'rituals' almost everyday when I was young for na^{53} mʑi^{53} and Han. I was very busy then. I saved many patients from danger," he said.

Unfortunately, I could not continue to listen to all his interesting stories for I had to leave after three days. He said it was very difficult to chant continually for several days.

"Kid, please come back, OK?" he said.

"Yes, I will. I'm sure I will," I said and left, very concerned about his blindness.

"Come back, then you can stay here longer and learn more," he said.

The sounds of his words became weaker and weaker as I trudged into the distance.

NOVEMBER 11TH (THURSDAY), 8 A.M. "I'll go by myself. You don't need to worry," I said again, but Father was not convinced.

"No, Son. You don't know a single person there. Your work is important. How can I feel comfortable about you going alone? We will bring your younger sister. I'm old and close to death. I can't often be with you since you study away from home and it is difficult for you to return home often. It's the same for your younger sister—she is usually not at home, like you. And now she'll marry soon while you're not at home. No, you can't go alone. I'll take you to your Uncle lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44}. He's the person who knows most about na^{53} mʑi^{53} these days," Father continued. I could not disagree.

Xiaolong used his motorcycle to send Sanjin, my father and me from dʐə̩^{11} qu^{11} Village to lu^{11} ma^{44} Town. Then we took a bus from lu^{11} ma^{44} to Mianning, which cost each person forty RMB. We arrived in Luoguodi at five p.m. Luoguodi is part of Lianhe Township, Mianning County. According to the local na^{53} mʑi^{53} explanation, the real name is lu^{11} kv̩^{53} tʙu^{11}.[A] 'lu^{11} kv̩^{53}' indicates an earlier generation of the li^{44} ʙu^{55} Clan lineage while '*tʙu^{11}*' means 'place' or 'area.'

That evening after a day's journey in the bus, we reached Uncle Liqi's home near the Lianhe bus station. Uncle lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44} returned home around eleven p.m.

"Oh, my son, I heard you would come and the reason why. It is very good that you are doing such things," he said.

I felt awkward because it was my first time to meet him. He treated me very nicely. After dinner, I learned he was the uncle whom father had mentioned before.

"Father, I hope you will help me. I only know a little about na^{53} mʑi^{53}," I said respectfully.

"Oh, why not. I wish I could pour all my knowledge into your head just like water. That's how I feel when I meet such a good son like you. Others care nothing about na^{53} mʑi^{53}. They are only interested in modern clothes and dance. What a pity after we die. They don't know what to do when a na^{53} mʑi^{53} gets sick or at weddings, funerals, sacrificing to the mountain gods..." he couldn't stop complaining.

Mu'er, Zhuangzi, Hetao and Dachuanhao villages are all in Lianhe Township. Nearly all the residents are na^{53} mʑi^{53}, except for Dachuanhao Village where there are some Nuosu. There

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[A] It is pronounced as 'lu^{11} kv̩^{53} tʙu^{11}' in dʐə̩^{11} qu^{11} Village.

is one primary school for all four villages' children. However each village also has its own primary school, except for Zhuangzi Village.

NOVEMBER 12TH (SUNDAY). I spent the day with Uncle lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44} and recorded the names of the places where na^{53} mʑi^{53} lived before they came to live in their present homes, how the original two na^{53} mʑi^{53} brothers divided into many different families and how na^{53} mʑi^{53} came to the earth (Sky-ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} and Human-Son lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}). The place-names are listed below from the most recent to the original home place.

1. li^{44} ʙu^{55} o^{53} ndz̢o^{53}
2. dz̢ə^{44} lo^{44} a^{11} gy̩^{44} dʑy^{11}
3. bu^{11} sa^{11} ʁa^{11}
4. ho^{11} jy^{11} ɴɢy̩^{11} kʰi^{44}
5. lu^{11} ky̩^{53} tʙu^{11}
6. li^{44} mɚ^{55} ha^{11} ŋa^{11} lɚ^{44}
7. ha^{11} sa^{11} pɕə^{11} lo^{11} ʙu^{44}
8. s̢u^{53} bo^{44} ræ^{53} ts̢a^{53}
9. ha^{11} ga^{11} dzə^{53} gy̩^{44}
10. la^{44} kʰy̩^{53} ndzə^{53} gy̩^{53} tɕə^{11} ro^{44}
11. ha^{11} tɕə^{11} mo^{53} tɕɛ^{53} ro^{44}
12. m̩^{53} sə^{53} lo^{44} ga^{11} ky̩^{11}
13. la^{44} kʰy̩^{53} mo^{53} tjo^{53} mi^{44}
14. tɕɛ^{11} dʑi^{44} hɛ^{53} gɛ^{44}[A]
15. s̢u^{53} tʰʙu^{44} la^{53} sa^{53} fu^{11}
16. jy^{11} ga^{11} tʰo^{11} jɛ^{11} ga^{11}
17. dʑə^{11} mɛ^{44} ha^{44} nju^{44}
18. na^{44} mɛ^{44} jy^{44} ga^{53} fu^{11}
19. ha^{11} tʰo^{11} ni^{44} vɛ^{44} ga^{44}
20. ha^{11} na^{44} lu^{53} qy̩^{53} ts̢u^{11} ro^{44}
21. na^{44} mɛ^{55} ɴɢy̩^{11} kʰy̩^{11}
22. na^{44} mɛ^{55} fu^{11}
23. na^{44} mɛ^{55} ru^{11} ja^{11} ʁa^{11}
24. na^{44} mɛ^{55} ʁo^{44} gy̩^{53}
25. dʑa^{11} rə^{44} ɕə^{11} ts̢u^{44} ts̢u^{53}
26. dʑa^{11} rə^{44} lu^{44} ts̢u^{44} ts̢u^{53}
27. tʙu^{53} tʙu^{53} ndzə^{53} gy̩^{44} na^{44}
28. tʙu^{53} tʙu^{53} z̢a^{53} pʰu^{53} dʑy^{11}
29. ho^{53} pi^{53} ɴɢy̩^{11} kʰy̩^{11}
30. sə^{11} m̩^{11} ȵa^{44} la^{44} qæ^{53}
31. jo^{44} ni^{44} pʰjo^{11} dz̢ə^{11} gy̩^{11}
32. ja^{11} wu^{44} s̢o^{44} lo^{44} ʙu^{44}
33. pʙu^{11} m̩^{11} ȵa^{11} dz̢ə^{44} gy̩^{11}
34. z̢a^{53} tʙu^{53} ji^{44} ga^{53} rə^{53}

[A] We use 'g' in place of 'ɡ'.

35. ma^{11} ni^{44} bo^{44} ro^{55}
36. ma^{53} pi^{53} tʙu^{11} ji^{44} ga^{55}
37. ʙu^{53} rə^{53} ni^{11} ʐa^{44} dʑy^{11}
38. ȵi^{44} ma^{55} la^{11} sa^{11} dʑy^{11}
39. p^{h}u^{53} ji^{44} la^{11} dʑy^{11} k^{h}ʏ^{11}

na^{53} mʑi^{53} believe li^{44} ʙu^{55} o^{53} ndʐo^{53} refers to Xichang. The fifth place-name, lu^{11} kʏ^{53} tʙu^{11}, refers to a large valley that includes lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44}'s home village, as well as several other villages where nearly all residents are na^{53} mʑi^{53}. lu^{11} tʙu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44} said the next to the last place-name referred to Lhasa and the last name referred to a place between Nepal and Lhasa and when people die their souls go through all these places and, finally, to the sky. When na^{53} mʑi^{53} die, these place-names are chanted by *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}*. Usually, there are two to four *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* at a funeral. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* stand together by the corpse and slowly and sadly chant the names of the places while holding a short sword above the dead person,[A] guiding the soul of the deceased back to the original home.

NOVEMBER 13TH (MONDAY). I went to Zhuangzi Village and met Ji Wendong, the village leader. "There is a better primary school for all the villages in our township, but a few rich people have started to send their children to more expensive schools in Mianning County," he said. "Now more and more young people leave the village to earn money and young children are at school, so only old people and kids are left at home. There's nobody left to dance now," he answered when I asked him if people still danced na^{53} mʑi^{53} traditional dance.

NOVEMBER 14TH (TUESDAY). In the afternoon, I arrived at a Han p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}'*s* home on the upper part of a mountain after an hour's horseback ride up a steep, zigzag road. Local people say he is the only local *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}*. He showed me his conch, animal horns and old scriptures.

"Can you read these?" I asked, pointing to the scriptures, written in Tibetan.

"No. A friend promised to help pay for me to study Tibetan but I couldn't go. I had to take care of my family." From my talks with him, I learned that people believed in him and invited him to do various rituals. Local na^{53} mʑi^{53} do sacrifice rituals to the mountain god every nine years, which involves killing chickens, sheep, goats and yaks. This ritual lasts eight days. The *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* must chant to the mountain god.

Then he took me to see his *ɕi^{53} vi^{53} dza^{11} tɕə^{11} ro^{44}* behind his home, which is the place where food and animal blood is offered to ɕi^{53} vi^{53}.[B] Every local na^{53} mʑi^{53} family has a *ɕi^{53} vi^{53} dza^{11} tɕə^{11} ro^{44}* in a high and clean place. Usually it is under a large tree.

"Why is there no big tree here?" I asked.

"There, you see... but it is dead now," he said, pointing to a dead trunk, the only remnant of the sacred tree. The big trees are gone. Only some trunks remain because people don't care; they don't offer food and animal blood to them..." From what he said, I gathered that the big trees symbolize ɕi^{53} vi^{53}. na^{53} mʑi^{53} respect ɕi^{53} vi^{53} and offer them the best fresh food and animal blood and in return, the people are protected by ɕi^{53} vi^{53}.

[A] We do not know the significance of holding a knife above the corpse at this time.
[B] ɕi^{53} vi^{53} = mountain god, *dza^{11}* = food, *tʂə^{11}* = raise, *ro^{44}* = place.

NOVEMBER 16TH (THURSDAY). I visited Uncle lu^{11} tʁu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44}'s daughter's home and had a chance to see a *tʂʰa*^{11} 'loom', which I had never seen before. y̩^{53} ka^{53} mi^{53} is skilled at using it. Her home is by a road and I got there easily by paying ten RMB to rent a motorcycle taxi. y̩^{53} ka^{53} mi^{53} told me that she uses the loom when she is free to make *kwa*^{44} *ta*^{55} 'knee-length vests'. She sells them for one hundred RMB each.

PART THREE: TEXTS

MYTHS

DESCENDANTS OF HUMAN-SON lε^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} AND SKY-ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} lu^{11} tʁu^{53} a^{53} zo^{44}[A]

(1)[B]

i ȵ̥i a ʂ̥ə	te	za ja go ʑ̥i	so	ʑ̥i	dʑ̥o	di	le
ancient	DP	brothers	three	CL	EXT	say	MP
གནའ་སྔ་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྤུན་ཟླ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	བཤད	ཚིག་ཏེགས
古代	*连词*	弟兄	三	*量词*	*存在*	传说	*语气*

'It was said in ancient times there were three brothers.'

གནའ་སྔ་མོར་སྤུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ཡོད་པར་བཤད།

传说, 古时候有三个弟兄。

(2)

ʑ̥i	a ȵ̥o	t^{h}i	ja	te	ts^{h}o	ʑ̥i	lε ʁu ru	mi
son	young	DET	CL	DP	man	son	lε ʁu ru	call
བུ	ཆུང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མི	བུ	ལེའུ་རུ	ཟེར་བ
儿子	小	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	人	儿子	名字	叫

'The youngest son was called Man-Son lε^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}.'

བུ་ཆུང་བའི་མིང་ལ་མིའི་བུ་ལེའུ་རུ་ཟེར།

(其中)小儿子的名字叫人子勒物如。

[A] Note the similarity between this account and the Qiang account 'The Creation of the World' (LaPolla and Huang 2003:251-252).

[B] See http://www.vuze.com/details/YLYW2MTRKDP5HYKFKA6WQCWUPEPSPT5E.html for recordings of these and other folklore materials glossed in this study. Libu Lakhi recorded and transcribed the folklore material from various consultants. He then re-recorded it to improve sound quality.

(3)

$t^{h}i$	so	ʑi	te	rə	qæ	ɕy	tɕə tɕə
DET	three	CL	DP	field	dig	went	often
དེས་ཚིག	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང་རི་མ	སློག་པ	སོང	རྒྱུན་པར
限词	三	*量词*	*连词*	土地	挖	去	经常

'The three brothers often went to dig (cultivate) fields.[A]'

སྤུན་ཟླ་འདི་གསུམ་པོ་རྒྱུན་པར་ཞིང་རི་མ་སློག་ཏུ་སོང་བ་རེད།

这三兄弟经常去挖地。

(4)

ti	ȵi	dza	dzə	le	rə	qæ	li	ɕy	te
one	day	meal	eat	DP	field	dig	back	went	DP
གཅིག	ཉིན	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང	སློག་པ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
一	天	饭	吃	*连词*	土地	挖	回	去	*连词*

(5)

qæ	ȵu	$t^{h}i$ ki	o ba	te	li	ba	pi tsa	ro	sə
dig	after/had	these	all	DP	back	flatten	finish	PT	again
སློག་པ	ཚར	འདི	ཚང་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ལེབ་མོར་བཟོ་བ	ཚར	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང
挖	完	这些	全部	*连词*	回	平	完	*去时*	又

'One day, when they had eaten a meal and went back to dig fields, all these (fields that they) had dug were already flattened back again.'

ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ནངས་ཟ་འཐུངས་རྗེས(ཁོ་ཚོ)ཕྱིར(ས་ཞིང)སློག་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ན། སྔར་བསློགས་ཟིན་པའི་ཞིང་རི་མ་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་ལེབ་མོར་བཟོས་འདུག

一天, 吃了饭回去挖地时, 所有这些挖过的(土地)都又(变)平了。

[A] na^{53} mʑi^{53} generally live in hilly areas and depend on cultivating rice (always irrigated) and dry land farming (corn, potatoes, soybeans). Every year, farmers abandon some dry land plots for they are no longer fertile, and open up new dry land for cultivation.

(6)

ʑi	t^{h}i	so	ja	ʁu ru	p^{h}o go	le	ma	ʁa[A]	ro
son	DET	three	CL	head	puzzle	DP	NEG	OK	PT
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	མགོ	འཐོམས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	三	*量词*	头	糊涂/困惑	*连词*	*否定*	可以	*去时*

'The three sons were very puzzled in the head.'

སྤུན་ཟླ་འདི་གསུམ་པོ་མགོ་འཐོམས་སོང་།

这三个儿子 (感到)非常困惑。

(7)

ti	n̠ʑi	li hæ	t^{h}ʙu	rə	qæ	li	ɕy	te
one	day	evening	when	field	dig	back	went	DP
གཅིག	ཉིན	ས་སྲོས	སྐབས	ཞིང་རི་མ	རློག་པ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
一	天	傍晚	时候	土地	挖	回	去	*连词*

(8)

t^{h}jo	so	kỵ	m̩	ɕə po	ji k^{h}ỵ	tsə pæ	ta	ka	lɔ
they	three	CL	AVM	tree	under	hide	EXT	DP	watch
ཁོ་ཚོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་ཚིག	སྡོང་པོ	འོག	སྦ་བ	ལས་མཐུན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ
他们	三	*量词*	*副标*	树	下	藏	*存在*	*连词*	看

'When it was evening one day, (they) went back to dig fields; they all three hid under trees and watched.'

ཉིན་ཞིག་གི་ས་སྲོས་དུས་ལ། ཁོ་ཚོ་གསུམ་པོ་ཞིང་རི་མ་བརྐོ་རུ་སོང་ནས་ཚང་མ་སྡོང་པོའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྦས་ཏེ་བལྟས།

一天傍晚, 回去挖地时, 他们三个都藏在树下看着。

[A] '*ma*^{44}' is negative and '*ʁa*^{44}' means 'OK'. For example, it is OK or not OK to do something, however, here '*ma*^{44} *ʁa*^{44}' means 'very'.

(9)

t^hi	$t^hʁu$	te	la mo	ti	gy̩
DET	CL	DP	old man	one	CL
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒད་པོ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག
限词	*量词*	*连词*	老头子	一	*量词*

(10)

ʂ̩u	ŋgo $t^hʁu$	la	vo ta	le	dʑy	ro
metal	stick	CL	carry	DP	come	PT
ལྕགས	དབྱུག་པ	ཚད་ཚིག	འཁུར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
铁	棒	*量词*	扛	*连词*	来	*去时*

'At this moment, one old man carried one metal (walking) stick and came.'

སྐབས་འདིར། རྒད་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་དབྱུག་པ་ཞིག་ཁུར་ནས་ཡོན།

这时候, 一个老头子扛着一根铁棒来了。

(11)

ŋgo $t^hʁu$	la	le	rə	lo	li	tɕa p^hu	lo pa[A]	ro
stick	OTM	DP	field	GOAL	back	overturn	ITR	PT
དབྱུག་པ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང་རི་མ	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	མགོ་ཏིང་སློག་པ	བསྐྱར་ཟློས	འདས་ཚིག
棒	*宾标*	*连词*	土地	*目词*	回	翻	*重复*	*去时*

'(He) used (the) stick and turned the field back over as quickly as possible.'

(ཁོས་)གབྱུག་པ་(དེ་)བཀོལ་ནས་ཅི་མྱུར་གྱིས་ཞིང་རི་མ་མགོ་ཏིང་བསློགས།

(他) 用 (那根) 铁棒 (把三个兄弟挖过的) 土地起劲地往回翻。

[A] *lo*[11] and *lo*[11] *pa*[11] increase the degree, speed of the verb and indicates the repetition of the verb.

(12)

la mo	$t^{h}i$	gʏ̩	za ja go ʑ̩i	$t^{h}i$	so	ja	n̩i	mæ qʏ̩ ta	ro
old man	DET	CL	brothers	DET	three	CL	ERG	catch	PT
རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྤུན་ཟླ	ངེས་ཚིག	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཛིན་བཟུང	འདས་ཚིག
老头子	*限词*	*量词*	弟兄	*限词*	三	*量词*	*作格*	抓住	*去时*

'The old man was caught by the three brothers.'

རྒན་པོ་དེ་སྤུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་པོས་འཛིན་བཟུང་བྱས།

那个老头子被三个弟兄抓住了。

(13)

do dʐ̩ə	$t^{h}i$	ja	te	q^{h}ʏ̩	m̩	tʙu	mi ŋga	hũ	di
big	DET	CL	DP	quick	AVM	kill	SUF-COM	need	say
ཆེ་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དེ་མ་ཐག	བྱེད་ཚིག	གསོད་པ	འདས་རྗེས	འོས་པ	བཤད
大	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	快	*副标*	杀	*后体*	应该	说

'The big one (the oldest brother) said, "(He) needs to be killed quickly."'

(སྤུན་ཟླ་)ཆེ་བས་(ཁོ་རང་)དེ་མ་ཐག་གསོད་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

老大说: 应该赶快杀掉(他) 。

(14)

hĩ ŋgi	$t^{h}i$	ja	te	la	ɕə po	ʁo	lo	ɴɢʏ̩ ta	hũ	di
middle	DET	CL	DP	OTM	tree	LOC	GOAL	tie	need	say
འབྲིང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཤིང	གནས་གཞི	ལས་ཚིག	འཆིང་བ	འོས་པ	བཤད
中间/老二	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	*宾标*	树	*位格*	*目词*	捆	需要	说

'The middle (of the three brothers) said, "(He) needs to be tied up to a tree."'

(སྤུན་ཟླ་)འབྲིང་བས་(ཁོ་རང་)སྡོང་པོའི་སྟེང་ལ་འཆིང་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

老二说: “需要（把他）捆到树上。”

(15)

a ɳ̥o	tʰi	ja	te	tʰa	tʙu	ɕa ndjo	le	di
young	DET	CL	DP	NEG	kill	pity	MP	say
ཆུང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	གསོད	སྙིང་རྗེ་བ	ཚིག་སྔེགས	བཤད
最小	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	*否定*	杀	可怜	*语气*	说

'The youngest (brother) said, "Don't kill (him for he) is pitiful."'

(སྤུན་ཟླ་)ཆུང་བས་(ཁོ་རང་)སྙིང་རྗེ་བོ་འདུག་པས་མ་གསོད་ཅིག་ཅེས་བཤད།

幺兄弟说: “别杀, (好)可怜呀!”

(16)

mæ	te	la mo	tʰi	gy̩	da	lo	mi do	ro
later	DP	old/old man	DET	CL	DAT	GOAL	ask	PT
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལ་དོན	ལས་ཚིག	འདྲི་བ	འདས་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*	*目词*	问	*去时*

'Later, (the three brothers) asked the old man.'

དེ་ནས་(སྤུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་པོས་)རྒན་པོར་དྲི་བ་བཏོན།

然后, (他们)问那个老头子。

(17)

nu	go m̩	ŋo	hĩ	rə	tʰi ki	tɕa pʰu	dʑy	le	di
you	why	we	GEN	field	these	overturn	come	MP	say
ཁྱེད	ཅིའི་ཕྱིར	ང་ཚོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཞིང	འདི་ཚོ	མགོ་རྟིང་སློག་པ	ཡོང་བ	ཚིག་སྔེགས	འདྲི་ཚིག
你	为什么	我们	*属格*	土地	这些	翻	来	*语气*	说

'(They) asked, "Why did you come to overturn these fields of ours?"'

(ཁོ་ཚོ་གསུམ་པོས་)ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ང་ཚོའི་ཞིང་ས་མགོ་རྟིང་བསློགས་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་དྲིས།

(他们)问: “你为什么来翻我们的土地呢?”

(18)

la mo	t^hi	gy̩	n̺i	ts^ho	o ba	te	s̺ə qo	da	ro
old/old man	DET	CL	ERG	man	all	DP	die	come/be	FT
རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མི	ཚང་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤི་བ	རྒྱུ	མ་འོངས་པ
老头子	限词	量词	作格	人	全部	连词	死	要	未时

(19)

te	rə	qæ	le	go	m̩	le	di
DP	field	dig	DP	what	do	MP	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང་རི་མ	སློག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད་པ	ཚིག་སྒེགས	བཤད
连词	土地	挖	连词	什么	做	语气	说

'The old man said, "All men will die, so what (is the point of) digging fields?"'

རྒན་པོས་མི་ཚང་མ་ཤི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པས་ཞིང་ས་སློག་ནས་ཅི་བྱ་ཞེས་བཤད།

那个老头子说: “所有的人都要死了挖土地来干什么?”

(20)

t^hjo	so	ky̩	qy̩	le	q^ha	m̩	hũ	ro	di
they	three	CL	scare	DP	how/what	do	should	FT	say
ཁོ་ཚོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	འཇིགས་སྐྲག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་འདྲ། ཅི	བཟོ་བ	འོས་པ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད
他们	三	量词	害怕	连词	怎么	做	应该	未时	说

'They three were scared and said, "What should be done?"'

ཁོ་ཚོ་གསུམ་པོ་སྐྲག་ནས་ཅི་བྱེད་འོས་པ་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད།

他们三个害怕地问: “(那我们)该怎么办呢?”

(21)

la mo	t^hi	gy̩	n̺i	do dzə̺	t^hi	gy̩	s̺u	NGY̩	ts^hu
old man	DET	CL	ERG	big	DET	CL	metal	boat	CL
རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཆེན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྕགས	གྲུ་གཟིངས	ཚད་ཚིག
老头子	限词	量词	作格	大	限词	量词	铁	船	量词

(22)

ɕə ɕə	hĩ ŋgi	tʰi	gʏ̩	ɕə	NGʏ̩	tsʰu	ɕə ɕə	a n̥o	tʰi
make	middle	DET	CL	wood	boat	CL	make	youngest	DET
བཟོ་བ	བར་མ	དེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཤིང	གྲུ་གཟིངས	ཚད་ཚིག	བཟོ་བ	ཆུང་བ	དེས་ཚིག
造	中间/老二	*限词*	*量词*	木	船	*量词*	造	老幺	*限词*

(23)

ja	rə qa	NGʏ̩	tsʰu	ɕə ɕə	ka	ndzə bo	vʐ̩ə	da	te
CL	leather	boat	CL	make	DP	water	bubble	come	DP
ཚད་ཚིག	ཀོ་བ	གྲུ	ཚད་ཚིག	བཟོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆུ	འཕྱུར་བ	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
量词	皮	船	*量词*	造	*连词*	水	冒	来	*连词*

(24)

jo jo	lo pæ	jo	hĩ	NGʏ̩	qo lo	mi	hũ	di
SELF	jump	SELF	GEN	boat	inside	GOAL	go	say
རང་ཉིད	མཆོངས་པ	རང་ཉིད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྲུ	ནང	ལས་ཚིག	སོང	བཤད
自己	跳	自己	*属格*	船	里边	*目词*	去	说

'The old man said, "The big one makes a metal boat, the middle one makes a wooden boat and the youngest one makes a leather boat and (each of you) jump down into self's (your own) boat, when water comes to bubble."'[A]

རྒད་པོས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། (སྔོན་)ཆེ་བས་ལྕགས་གྲུ་ཞིག་དང་། འབྲིང་བས་ཤིང་གྲུ་ཞིག ཆུང་བས་ཀོ་གྲུ་ཞིག་བཟོས་ཏེ་ཤུ་འོད་བརྒྱུགས་དུས་རང་རང་གི་གྲུ་ནང་དུ་མཆོངས་ཞེས་བཤད།

老头子说: “老大造一艘铁船, 老二造一艘木船, 老幺造一艘皮船, 水冒(上)来的时候, 自己跳到自己的船里面去。”

[A] 'Water comes to bubble' = one day, water will bubble up, fill the earth and kill all the people who live in the world.

(25)

mæ	te	gɛ ræ	m̩	ndzə bo	vzə̩	dʑy	ro
later	DP	real	AVM	water	bubble	come	PT
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དངོས་ནས	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཆུ	འཕྱུར་བ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	真的	*副标*	水	冒满	来	*去时*

'Later, water really came bubbling.'

རྗེས་སུ་ཆུ་དངོས་ནས་འཕྱུར་ཡོང་བ་རེད།

后来, 水真的冒了上来。

(26)

do dzə̩	t^{h}i	ja	lo pæ	le	ʂu	NGY̩	qo lo	mi	ɕy
big	DET	CL	jump	DP	metal	boat	inside	GOAL	went
ཆེ་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མཆོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྕགས	གྲུ	ནང	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ
大	*限词*	*量词*	跳	*连词*	铁	船	里边	*目词*	去

'The big one jumped down and went inside the metal boat.'

(སྤུན་ཟླ་)ཆེ་བ་མར་ལྕགས་གྲུ་ནང་དུ་མཆོངས།

老大(兄弟)跳进铁船里去。

(27)

hĩ ŋgi	t^{h}i	ja	lo pæ	le	ɕə	NGY̩	qo lo	mi	ɕy
middle	DET	CL	jump	DP	wood	boat	inside	GOAL	went
འབྲིང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མཆོངས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤིང	གྲུ	ནང	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ
中间/老二	*限词*	*量词*	跳	*连词*	木	船	里边	*目词*	去

'The middle one jumped down and went inside the wood boat.'

འབྲིང་བ་ཤིང་གྲུ་ནང་དུ་མར་མཆོངས་ཏེ་ཕྱིན།

老二跳到木船里去。

(28)

a ɳ̥o	tʰi	ja	te	tʰɛ	hĩ	ɳ̥i ji mo	ʂ̥o ʂ̥o ba mi	jo jo	lo pæ
young	DET	CL	DP	his	GEN	younger sister	ʂ̥o ʂ̥o ba mi	with	jump
ཆུང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྲིང་མོ	ཧྥོ་ཧྥོ་ཟླ་མེ	མཉམ་དུ	མཆོངས
小/幺	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	他的	*属格*	妹妹	名字	一起	跳

(29)

le	rə qa	NGʏ̩	qo lo	mi	ɕy	ro
DP	leather	boat	inside	GOAL	went	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཀོ་བ	གྲུ	ནང	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	皮肤	船	里边	*目词*	去	*去时*

'The young one, with his younger sister ʂ̥o^{44} ʂ̥o^{55} ba^{44} mi^{55}, jumped down and went inside the leather boat.'

ཆུང་བ་དེ་རང་གི་སྲིང་མོ་ཧྥོ་ཧྥོ་ཟླ་མེ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་མར་ཀོ་གྲུ་ནང་དུ་མཆོངས།

老幺和妹妹索索巴米一起跳进皮船里去了。

(30)

a po	ɳ̥i	kʏ̩	hĩ	NGʏ̩	te	zə	nda	ka	ndzə bo
elder brother	two	CL	GEN	boat	DP	heavy	very	DP	water
ཕུ་བོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྲུ་གཟིངས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྗིད་པ	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆུ
哥哥	两	*量词*	*属格*	船	*连词*	重	很	*连词*	水

(31)

qo lo	mi	ɕy	pi tsa	le	a ɳ̥o	hĩ	na na	li	ndʑə
inside	GOAL	went/sink	finish	DP	young	GEN	only	back	left
ནང	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	ཚར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆུང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གཅིག་པུ	ཕྱིར	ལུས་པ
里面	*目词*	去	完	*连词*	小	*属格*	只	回	剩

'The two elder brothers' boats were very heavy so sank down inside the water and only left the youngest one's.'

ཕུ་བོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གྲུ་གཟིངས་ཧ་ཅང་ལྗིད་པས་ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་བྱིངས་པ་དང་། སྤུན་ཆུང་བའི་གྲུ་གཅིག་པུ་ལུས་སོང་།

两个哥哥的船身很沉, 所以 (都沉)到水里面去了, 只剩下老幺的(皮船) 。

(32)

ndzə bo	li ɕy	n̡u	te	ts^{h}o	o ba	ʂ̧ə qo	pi tsa
water	recede	after	DP	people	all	die	finish
ཆུ	སྐམ	རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མི	ཚང་མ	ཤི་བ	ཚར་བ
水	退	后	*连词*	人	都	死	完/了

'After the water receded, all people were dead.'

ཆུ་སྐམ་དུས་མི་ཚང་མ་ཤི་སོང་།

水退后, (所有的)人都死了。

(33)

t^{h}jo	n̡i	qy̩	n̡i zo qo	le	ma ʁa	ro
they	two	CL	hungry	DP	very	PT
ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བཀྲེས་ལྟོགས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཧ་ཅང	*འདས་ཚིག*
他们	二/俩	*量词*	饥饿	*连词*	很	*去时*

'They two were very hungry.'

ཁོ་གཉིས་བཀྲེས་ལྟོགས་ཀྱིས་མནར།

他们俩很饿。

(34)

dʑy[A]	le	dʑy	le[B]	ʂ̥ə	ȵ̥i	ʂ̥ə	ha	dʁu	ro
go/walk	DP	go/walk	DP	seven	day	seven	night	pass	PT
ཡོང་བ	སྤྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	སྤྲེལ་ཚིག	བདུན	ཉིན	བདུན	མཚན་མོ	འགོར་བ	འདས་ཚིག
来/走	*连词*	来/走	*连词*	七	天	七	夜晚	成为/过	*去时*

'(They) walked and walked and seven days and nights passed.'

(ཁོ་གཉིས་)ཉིན་བདུན་དང་མཚན་བདུན་ལ་སོང་།

(他俩)走呀走, 过了七天七夜。

(35)

mæ	te	mi kʰy̩	ȵ̥i	ka	tʰjo	ræ	ndo
later	DP	smoke	two	CL	they	PRE-ATT	see
རྗེས་སུ	སྤྲེལ་ཚིག	དུ་བ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ཚོ	འདས་སྔོན	མཐོང་བ
后来	*连词*	烟	二	*量词*	他们	*前体*	看见

'Later, they saw two (columns of) smoke.'

རྗེས་སུ་ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དུ་བའི་(བསྐུར་ཕྲེང་)གཉིས་མཐོང་།

后来, 他俩看到了两股烟。

(36)

mi kʰy̩	ti	ka	te	do dʐ̥ə	ti	ka	te	a tɕə
smoke	one	CL	DP	dense	one	CL	DP	thin
དུ་བ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྤྲེལ་ཚིག	སྟུག་པོ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྤྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲབ་མོ
烟	一	*量词*	*连词*	浓	一	*量词*	*连词*	淡

[A] *dʑy*[11] may mean 'come' or 'go' depending on the context.

[B] When *le*[44] is repeated, it emphasizes the time spent.

'One (column of) smoke was dense, and one (column) was thin.'

དུ་བའི་(བསྐར་ཕྲེང་)གཅིག་ནི་སྟུག་ཅིང་། ཅིག་ཤོས་ནི་སྲབ་མོར་སྣང་།

一股浓, 一股淡。

(37)

ka kỵ	lɛ ʁu ru	ȵi	la	ȵi ji mo	ko	ka
flute	lɛ ʁu ru	ERG	OTM	sister	give	DP
གླིང་བུ	ལེའུ་རུ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	སྲིང་མོ	སྟེར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
笛子	勒物如	*作格*	*宾标*	妹妹	给	*连词*

(38)

tʰɛ	te	na mʑi	a ga rə tsʰə	tʰi	la	li ndʑə
he	DP	na mʑi	knife	DET	CL	leave behind
ཁོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཧ་མུ་ཞི	གྲི་ཆུང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཤུལ་དུ་འཇོག་པ
他	*连词*	纳木依	刀子	*限词*	*量词*	留

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] took the flute and gave it to (his) younger sister and left behind the knife.'

ལེའུ་རུས་གླིང་བུ་བླངས་ཏེ་རང་གི་སྲིང་མོར་བྱིན་པ་དང་ཧ་མུ་ཞིའི་གྲི་ཆུང་དེ་རང་གི་ལག་ཏུ་བཟུང་།

勒物如把笛子拿给妹妹, 他 (自己)留下那把纳木依刀子。

(39)

ka	jo	dʙy	jo	ɕy	ro
DP	SELF	place	self	went	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	ས་ཆ	རང་ཉིད	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
连词	自己	地方	自己	去	*去时*

'And then themself (they each) went to each (their own) place.'

དེ་ནས་(ཁོ་གཉིས་)རང་རང་གི་སར་ཕྱིན།

然后, (他们)分道扬镳了。

(40)

ts^{h}o	ʑ̥i	lɛ ʁu ru	mi k^{h}y̩	do dʐ̥ə	t^{h}i	ka	ly	le	ɕy
man	son	lɛ ʁu ru	smoke	big	DET	CL	watch	DP	went/left
མི	བུ	ལེའུ་རུ	དུ་བ	ཆེན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིན
人	后代	勒物如	烟	大	*限词*	*量词*	看	*连词*	去

'Man-son lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} watched (faced) the big smoke and left.'

མིའི་བུ་ལེའུ་རུས་དུ་བ་སྟུག་པོ་དེར་ལྟ་བཞིན་དུ་ཕྱིན།

勒物如朝那股浓烟走去。

(41)

n̥i ji mo	te	mi k^{h}y̩	a tɕə	t^{h}i	ka	ly	le	ɕy
younger sister	DP	smoke	small	DET	CL	watch	DP	went/left
སྲིང་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དུ་བ	ཆུང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ
妹妹	*连词*	烟	小/淡	*限词*	*量词*	看	*连词*	去

'Younger Sister watched (faced) the small (column of) smoke and left.'

སྲིང་མོས་དུ་བ་སྲབ་མོ་དེ་ལ་ལྟ་བཞིན་དུ་ཕྱིན།

妹妹朝着那股淡烟 (走)去。

(42)

mi ʑ̥i mo	te	ts^{h}o	dzə	p^{h}u ʂ̥ə	ti	jy	lo	ʁu pʁu	ro
elder brother	DP	man	eat	ghost	one	CL	GOAL	meet	PT
ཕུ་བོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མི	ཟ་བ	འདྲེ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	འཕྲད་པ	འདས་ཚིག
哥哥	*连词*	人	吃	鬼	一	*量词*	*目词*	遇	*去时*

'Elder Brother met one ghost family of man eaters.'

ཕུ་བོ་མི་ཟ་བའི་འདྲེའི་ཁྱིམ་ཞིག་དང་འཕྲད།

哥哥遇上了一家食人鬼。

(43)

qʰo bo	qæ qæ	lo	lo	te	la kʰi	ti	ja	ɛ qo	dʑo
door	crack	GOAL	peer	DP	child	one	CL	home	EXT
སྒོ	སྲུབས་ཀ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ལྟ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བུ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱིམ	*ལས་མཐུན*
门	缝隙	*目词*	望	*连词*	孩子	一	*量词*	家	*存在*

'(He) peered through the door crack and there was one child at home.'

(ཁོས་)སྒོའི་སྲུབས་ཀ་ནས་ནང་དུ་བལྟས་པ་ན་བུ་ཆུང་ཞིག་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཡོད་པ་(མཐོང་)།

(他) 往门缝里望时, (看见)有一个孩子在家。

(44)

ji	kʰʏ̩	ji	ga	o ba	tsʰo	mo	bz̡ə bz̡ə	ta
house	inside	house	outside	all	man/human	corpse	full	EXT
ཁང་པ	ནང	ཁང་པ	ཕྱི	ཚང་མ	མི	རོ	བཀང	*ལས་མཐུན*
房子	内	房子	外	都	人	尸体	满	*存在*

'All inside the house and outside the house were full of human corpses.'

ཁང་བའི་ཕྱི་ནང་ཚང་མ་མིའི་རོ་ཡིས་བཀང་འདུག

屋里屋外都堆满着人的尸体。

(45)

lɛ ʁu ru	tʰi	tʰʙu	te	qʏ̩	le	ma ʁa	ro
lɛ ʁu ru	DET	CL	DP	scare	DP	very	FT
ལེའུ་རུ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	འཇིགས་སྐྲག	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཧ་ཅང	*འདས་ཚིག*
名字	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	害怕	*连词*	很	*去时*

'At this moment, $lɛ^{11}$ $ʁu^{44}$ ru^{11} was very scared.'

སྐབས་འདིར། ལེའུ་རུ་འཇིགས་སྐྲག་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱེས།

这时候, 勒物如很害怕。

(46)

t^hɛ	da	nu	hĩ	a da	a mi	q^ha	ɕy	ro	di	te
him	DAT	you	GEN	father	mother	where	went	PT	ask	DP
ཁོ	*ལ་དོན*	ཁྱོད	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཨ་ཕ	ཨ་མ	གང་ན	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཟེར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
他	*与格*	你	*属格*	爸爸	妈妈	哪儿	去	*去时*	说	*连词*

(47)

ts^ho	mo	n̥i	mo	ræ	li	ma	ka	sə	ka
man	corpse	two	CL	PRE-ATT	back	NEG	take out	still	DP
མི	རོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*འདས་སྔོན*	ཕྱིར	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཆུ་ལས་ལེན་པ	ད་དུང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
人	尸体	二	*量词*	*前体*	回	*否定*	捞	还	*连词*

(48)

lo q^ho	ʁo	mo	ʂu	ɕy	te	li	ma	dʑy	sə	di
valley	LOC	corpse	find	went/left	DP	back	NEG	come	still	say
ལུང་པ	*གནས་གཞི*	རོ	བཙལ	ཕྱིན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཡོན	ད་དུང	བཤད
山谷	*位格*	尸体	找	去	*连词*	回	*否定*	来	还	说

'(lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]) asked him, "Where did your father and mother go?" and then (the ghost child) said, "(We) still didn't get two corpses (youngest son and his sister's) back out of the water, so (my parents) went to take corpses out of the water in the valley and (they) still haven't come back yet."'

(ལེའུ་རུས་)ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཕ་མ་གཉིས་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཞེས་བུ་ཆུང་དེ་ལ་དྲིས་པ་ན། (དེས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། (ང་ཚོས་ཆུའི་ནང་ནས་)མི་རོ་གཉིས་ད་རུང་ཕྱིར་མ་བླངས་པས་(ཕ་མ་གཉིས་)ལུང་པའི་ནང་དུ་མི་རོ་འཚོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ད་རུང་ཕྱིར་མ་ཡོན་ཟེར།

(勒物如) 向他问道: “你的爸爸妈妈去哪儿了?” (小孩) 回答说: “(我们家)还没有捞到两具人的尸体, 所以 (他们) 到山谷中去找尸体了, 还没有回来。”

(49)

lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	ʁo zə	ʁo zə[A]	m̩	qy̩	ro	ka
lɛ ʁu ru	DET	CL	DP	more	more	AVM	scare	PT	DP
ལེའུ་རུ	རིས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྷག་ཏུ	ལྷག་ཏུ	བྱེད་ཚིག	འཇིགས་སྐྲག	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
名字	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	更加	更加	*副标*	害怕	*去时*	*连词*

(50)

mæ	li	lɔ	ma	ŋa	m̩	nu ʁu	mi	pæ	ro
back	back	watch/look	NEG	dare	AVM	out	GOAL	run	PT
རྒྱབ	ཕྱིར	ལྟ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཕོད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཕྱི	ལས་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	འདས་ཚིག
背后	回	看	*否定*	敢	*副标*	外	*目词*	跑	*去时*

'At this moment, lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} was more and more scared, so (he) didn't dare look back and ran away.'

སྐབས་འདིར། ལེའུ་རུ་ཇེ་སྐྲག་ནས་ཇེ་སྐྲག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཕྱིར་ཙམ་ཡང་ལྟ་མ་ཕོད་པར་རྒྱང་དུ་བརྒྱུགས།

这时, 勒物如更加害怕, 连头也不敢回地往外跑了。

(51)

pæ	le	pæ	le	do q^{h}y̩	nda	ro	to	dʑy	ro
run	DP	run	DP	far	very	LOC	reach	come	PT
རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐག་རིང	ཧ་ཅང	གནས་གཞི།	ཐོན་པ	ཡོང	འདས་ཚིག
跑	*连词*	跑	*连词*	远	很	*方位*	到	来	*去时*

'(He) ran and ran, and reached a very far place.'

(ཁོ་རང་)བྲོས་ནས་མཐར་ཧ་ཅང་ཐག་རིང་བའི་ས་ཆ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཐོན་ཡོང་།

跑呀跑, (跑)到了很远的地方。

[A] When *ʁo^{53} zə^{53}* is repeated two or more times it suggests 'very very' and is more emphatic than *ma^{44} ʁa^{44}*.

(52)

nu ʁu	ʁo	ɕə	ts^{h}ə	ma	ts^{h}ə	p^{h}ʂ̥ə	dzə	tɕə tɕə[A]
outside	LOC	tree	leaf	bamboo	leaf	pick	eat	often/always
ཕྱི་རོལ	*གནས་གཞི*	སྡོང་པོ	ལོ་མ	སྨྱུག་མ	ལོ་མ	འཐོག་པ	ཟ་བ	ནམ་ཡང
外面	*位格*	树	叶	竹	叶	摘	吃	总是

'Outside, (he) always picked tree leaves and bamboo leaves (as food) to eat.'

(ཁོས་)རྒྱུན་པར་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་སྡོང་ལོ་དང་སྨྱུག་མའི་ལོ་མ་བཏོགས་ནས་ཟོས།

(他)天天在外面摘树叶和竹叶吃。

(53)

ti	ȵ̥i	te	lɛ ʁu ru	ndzə bo	ti	q^{h}æ	k^{h}a rə	to	dʑy
one	CL	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	water/river	one	CL	beside/bank	arrive	come
གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ལེའུ་རུ	ཆུ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འགྲམ་དུ	ཐོན་པ	ཡོང་བ
一	*量词*	*连词*	名字	水/河水	一	*量词*	旁边	到达	来

'One day, lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] arrived at one river bank.'

ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ལེའུ་རུ་ཆུ་བོ་ཞིག་གི་འགྲམ་དུ་ཐོན།

一天, 勒物如来到一条河水边。

(54)

te	ka qʏ̩	q^{h}o	ti	q^{h}ʏ̩	t^{h}ɛ	ræ	gi	ro
DP	flute	sound	one	CL	he	PRE-ATT	hear	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གླིང་བུ	སྒྲ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁོ	*འདས་སྔོན*	ཐོས་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
连词	笛子	声音	一	*量词*	他	*前体*	听	*去时*

[A] A verb followed by *tɕə[11] tɕə[11]* indicates continuing action.

'He heard one flute sound.'

དེ་ནས་ཁོས་གླིང་བུའི་སྒྲ་ཞིག་ཐོས་བྱུང་།

这时, 他听到了一声笛声。

(55)

lɛ ʁu ru	a za za	m̩	ba he	le	lo	s̩u	ɕy	te
lɛ ʁu ru	slow	AVM	listen	DP	GOAL	search	went	DP
ལེའུ་རུ	དལ་མོ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ཉན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	འཚོལ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
名字	慢慢	*副标*	听	*连词*	*目词*	找	去	*连词*

(56)

zə mi	ti	ja	o da	ʁu mdʁy	zə zə	m̩	ka ky̩	fu
girl	one	CL	there	cry	while	AVM	flute	blow
བུ་མོ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	དེ་ན	ངུ་བ	སྐབས་སུ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	གླིང་བུ	འབུད་པ
姑娘	一	*量词*	那儿	哭	时	*副标*	笛子	吹

'le^{11} ʁu^{11} ru^{11} slowly searched and went and there was one girl crying while playing a flute.'

ལེའུ་རུས་དེར་ཉན་བཞིན་དལ་མོར་བཙལ་ནས་སོང་བ་ན། བུ་མོ་ཞིག་ངུ་ཞོར་དུ་གླིང་བུ་འབུད་བཞིན་པ་མཐོང་།

勒物如慢慢地 (朝着笛声的方向)找去时, (看见)一个姑娘在那儿哭着吹笛子。

(57)

zə mi	t^{h}i	ja	te	nu	ŋa	hĩ	mi ʐ̩i mo	a	ndo	di
girl	DET	CL	DP	you	I	GEN	brother	INT	see	ask
བུ་མོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	ང	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཕུ་བོ	*འདྲི་ཚིག*	མཐོང་བ	འདྲི་བ
姑娘	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	你	我	*属格*	哥哥	*疑问*	见	说

'The girl asked, "Did you see my brother?"'

བུ་མོས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངའི་ཕུ་བོ་མཐོང་བྱུང་ངམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།

姑娘问道: “你看见我的哥哥了吗?”

(58)

lɛ ʁu ru	ha	tʰɛ	da	nu	ŋa	hĩ	ȵi ji mo	a	ndo	di
lɛ ʁu ru	also	he/him	DAT	you	I	GEN	sister	INT	see	ask
ལེའུ་རུ	ཀྱང	ཁོ	ལ་དོན	ཁྱོད	ང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྲིང་མོ	འདྲི་ཚིག	མཐོང་བ	འདྲི་བ
名字	也	他	*与格*	你	我	*属格*	妹妹	*疑问*	见	说

'le[11] ʁu[11] ru[11] also asked her, "Did you see my sister?"'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཀྱང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངའི་སྲིང་མོ་མཐོང་བྱུང་ངམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།

勒物如也向她问道: “你看见我的妹妹了吗?”

(59)

ti gy̩ gy̩	hĩ	rə tsʰə	na	ka ky̩	ndo	ma ʂə tsa	m̩	li sə	ro
each other	GEN	knife	and	flute	see	as soon as	ADV	recognize	PT
ཕན་ཚུན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྲི་ཆུང	དང	གླིང་བུ	མཐོང་བ	དེ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ངོ་ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
各自	*属格*	刀子	和	笛子	见	一…就…	*副标*	重识	*去时*

'As soon as (they) saw each other's knife and flute then (they) recognized (each other).'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཕན་ཚུན་གྱི་གྲི་ཆུང་དང་གླིང་བུ་མཐོང་མ་ཐག་ཕན་ཚུན་ངོ་ཤེས།

(他们)一见各自的刀子和笛子, 就(互相)认出了 (对方)。

(60)

mi ʑi mo	tʰi	ja	te	tʰɛ	hĩ	ȵi ji mo	ȵi	ʂə ʂə	le
brother	DET	CL	DP	his	GEN	sister	ERG	bring	DP
ཕུ་བོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྲིང་མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཁྲིད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
哥哥	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	他	*属格*	妹妹	*作格*	带	*连词*

(61)

tʰɛ	a y̩	ɕɛ	ɛ qo	ʁo	ɕy	ro
her	father-in-law	GEN	home	LOC	went	PT
མོའི	ཁྱོས་པོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཁྱིམ	གནས་གཞི	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
她的	公公	*属格*	家	*位格*	去	*去时*

'The brother was brought by his sister and went to her father-in-law's home.'

སྲིང་མོས་རང་གི་ཕུ་བོ་ཁྲིད་དེ་མོའི་གྱོས་པོའི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཕྱིན།

哥哥被他的妹妹带到她的公公家里去了。

(62)

a ɣ̩	dʑɛ ji bu	ɕɛ	ɛ qo	ma	to	t^hʁu	n̥i ji mo	mi ʑi mo
father-in-law	dʑɛ ji bu	GEN	home	NEG	reach	when	elder sister	brother
གྱོས་པོ	རྒྱ་ཕུའུ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཁྱིམ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཐོན	སྐབས	སྲིང་མོ	ཕུ་བོ
公公	甲谱	*属格*	家	*否定*	到达	时候	妹妹	哥哥

(63)

da	dza	ndzə	t^hʁu	te	a ɣ̩	so	q^ho tsa	dzə	pi tsa
DAT	meal	eat	when	DP	father-in-law	three	CL	eat	finish
ལ་དོན	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	སྐབས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གྱོས་པོ	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཟ་བ	ཚར་བ
与格	饭	吃	时候	*连词*	公公	三	*量词*	吃	完

(64)

sə n̥i	nu	ti	q^ho tsa	na na	dzə	ʁa	di
only after	you	one	CL	only	eat	can	say
ད་གཟོད	ཁྱོད	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁོ་ན	ཟ་བ	ཆོག་པ	བཤད
才	你	一	*量词*	只	吃	能	说

'When (they) hadn't reached father-in-law dʑe^{11} ji^{44} bu^{44} home, Sister said to Brother, "When eating the meal, you can only eat one mouthful only after Father-in-law eats three mouthfuls."'

(ཁོ་ཚོ་)གྱོས་པོ་རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཡི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་མ་ཐོན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་སྲིང་མོས་ཕུ་བོར་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཟ་མ་ཟ་སྐབས་གྱོས་པོས་ཁམ་གསུམ་ཟོས་རྗེས་ད་གཟོད་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཁམ་གྲུ་གང་ཟོས་ཆོག་ཟེར།

没到公公甲谱家的时候, 妹妹就向哥哥说: “吃饭时, 公公吃完三口你才能吃一口。”

(65)

a ɣ̩	ɕɛ	ɛ qo	dza	ndzə	t^{h}ʙu	te	lɛ ʁu ru	ȵi zo qo
father-in-law	CL	home	meal	eat	when	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	hungry
གྱོས་པོ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	སྐབས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	བཀྲེས་ལྟོགས
公公	*量词*	家	饭	吃	时候	*连词*	勒物如	饥饿

(66)

le	go	ha	li ma ʂ̩u	m̩	lo	dzə	lo pa	ro
DP	what/anything	also/even	quickly	AVM	up	eat	ITR	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཡང	ཀྱང	ཅི་མྱུར་གྱིས	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཡར	ཟ་བ	བསྐྱར་ཟློས	འདས་ཚིག
连词	什么	也	快快地	*副标*	上	吃	*重复*	*去时*

'When eating at Father-in-law's home, lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} was hungry and ate as quickly as possible without remembering even anything.'

གྱོས་པོའི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཟ་མ་ཟ་སྐབས། ལེའུ་རུ་ལྟོགས་དྲགས་པས་ཅི་ཡང་མ་དྲན་པར་ཅི་མྱུར་གྱིས་ཟ་མ་ཟོས།

公公家吃饭的时候, 因为饿得(没有顾及他人, 自己)快快地吃了。

(67)

dʑɛ ji bu	qo tɕ^{h}ə	le	lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}ɛ	ȵi	ʁu q^{h}ʂ̩ə	le	ʂ̩ə qo	ro
dʑɛ ji bu	angry	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	he	ERG	beat	DP	die	PT
རྒྱ་ཕུའུ	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལངས་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	རྡུང་རྡེག་བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤི་བ	འདས་ཚིག
名字	生气	*连词*	名字	他	*作格*	打	*连词*	死	*去时*

'dʑe^{11} ji^{11} bu^{44} was angry and lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} was beaten by him and died.'

རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་དང་བཅས་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་རྡུང་རྡེག་བྱས་ནས་བསད།

甲谱生气得把勒物如打死了。

(68)

ʂ̥o ʂ̥o ba mi	ʁu mdʁy	le	dʑɛ ji bu	da	ŋa	nɛ	ʑi	hĩ	mi	m̩
ʂ̥o ʂ̥o ba mi	cry	DP	dʑɛ ji bu	DAT	I	your	son	GEN	wife	be
ཧོ་ཧོ་བྷ་མི	ངུ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱ་ཕུའུ	ལ་དོན	ང	ཁྱོད་ཚོ	བུ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཆུང་མ	བྱེད
硕硕巴米	哭	*连词*	甲谱	*与格*	我	你们	儿子	*属格*	妻子	当

(69)

le	ndzə bo	tʰʁy	dza	ɕə ɕə	tɕə tɕə	ha	nu	ŋa	hĩ
DP	water	carry	meal	cook	often/always	also/also	you	I	GEN
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆུ	འཁུར་བ	ཟ་མ	ཟས་ལས་པ	ནམ་ཡང	ཀྱང	ཁྱོད	ང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
连词	水	挑	饭	做	天天	也	你	我	*属格*

(70)

mi ʑi mo	tʁu	ŋa	ʂ̥ə	ha	nɛ	mi	m̩	ma	qæ	ro	di
brother	kill	I	die	also/even	your	wife	be	NEG	would	PT	say
ཕུ་བོ	གསོད་པ	ང	ཤི་བ	འང	ཁྱོད་ཚང་གི	ཆུང་མ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
哥哥	杀	我	死	也	你家的	妻子	当	*否定*	会	*去时*	说

'ʂ̥o[44] ʂ̥o[44] ba[44] mi[44] cried and said to dʑe[11] ji[11] bu[44], "I have been your son's wife, carried water and cooked meals, but you still kill my brother so I won't be your (son's) wife (anymore) even if I am dying."'

ཧོ་ཧོ་བྷ་མི་ངུ་ཞོར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ང་རང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བུའི་ཆུང་མ་བྱས་ཏེ། ནམ་ཡང་ཆུ་ཁུར་བ་དང་ཟས་གཡོ་སྐྱོར་བྱས་ནའང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངའི་ཕུ་བོ་བསད་པས། ང་ཤི་དགོས་ནའང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བུའི་ཆུང་མ་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར།

硕硕巴米哭着对甲谱说: “我当你的儿媳, (为你)挑水, 做饭, (你)还是杀了我的哥哥，我死也不会 (再)当你们家的 (儿)媳了。”

(71)

dʑɛ ji bu	ha	qʰa	pæ	nu	pæ	di	tʰɛ	da	ndjo
dʑɛ ji bu	also	where	run	you	run/go	say	she	DAT	scold
རྒྱ་ཕུའུ	ཀྱང	གང་ན	རྒྱུག	ཁྱོད	རྒྱུག	བཤད	མོ	ལ་དོན	སྨིག་དམོད་བྱེད
名字	也	哪儿	跑	你	跑/滚	说	她	*与格*	骂

'dʑe[11] ji[44] bu[44] also (started to) scold her, "Run to where you (want) to go."'

རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་ཁྱོད་རང་གང་ལ་འགྲོ་འདོད་ན་དེ་རུ་སོང་ཞེས་མོ་ལ་སྨིག་དམོད་བྱས།

甲谱也骂她说: “你想到哪儿就滚到哪儿去吧!”

(72)

mi	tɕʰə	su	ma	dʑo	te	la qo	tɕʰə	ga dʑa	nda
fire	make	GEN	NEG	EXT	DP	crow	make	know	very
མེ	བཟོ་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	*ཡས་མཐུན*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྭ་ཏ	བཟོ་བ	ཤེས་པ	ཧ་ཅང
火	生	*属格*	*否定*	*存在*	*连词*	乌鸦	生	会	很

'"If there is no one to make fire, then crows know (how to make fires for cooking) very (well)," (said dʑe[11] ji[44] bu[44]).'

(རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཡིས་མུ་མཐུད་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) གལ་ཏེ་མེ་འབུད་མཁན་མེད་ན་ཁྭ་ཏ་མེ་འབུད་པར་ཧ་ཅང་མཁས་ཟེར།

“(我家) 没有(人)烧火的话, 乌鸦会烧火。”

(73)

ndzə	tʰʁy	su	ma	dʑo	te	pa mi	tʰʁy	pʰa	nda
water	carry	GEN	NEG	EXT	DP	frog	carry	able	very
ཆུ	ཁུར་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	*ཡས་མཐུན*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྦལ་བ	འཁུར་བ	ཐུབ་པ	ཧ་ཅང
水	挑	*属格*	*否定*	*存在*	*连词*	青蛙	挑	能	很

'"If there is no one to carry water, then frogs are very capable to carry (it," said dʑe[11] ji[44] bu[44]).'

(རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཡིས་མུ་མཐུད་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) གལ་ཏེ་ཆུ་འཁུར་མཁན་མེད་ན་སྦལ་བ་ཆུ་ཁུར་བར་ཧ་ཅང་མཁས་ཟེར།

“没有 (人)挑水的话, 青蛙能挑。”

(74)

ʐo	tɕo	su	ma	dʑo	te	ru bʑi	tɕo	pʰa	nda
grain	grind	GEN	NEG	EXT	DP	dragon	grind	able	very
འབྲུ་རིགས	འཐག་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུག	འཐག་པ	ཐུབ་པ	ཧ་ཅང
粮食	碾	*属格*	*否定*	*存在*	*连词*	龙	碾	能	很

'"If there is no one to grind grain, then dragons are very capable to grind grain," (said dʑe^{11} ji^{11} bu^{44}).'

(རྒྱ་ཕྲུའུ་ཡིས་མུ་མཐུད་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) འབྲུ་རིགས་འཐག་མཁན་མེད་ན་འབྲུག་གིས་འབྲུ་རིགས་འཐག་ཤེས་ཟེར།

“没有(人) 推磨的话, 龙能推。”

(75)

qʰo ræ	lu	su	ma	dʑo	te	xi	lu	pʰa
goat	hear	GEN	NEG	EXT	DP	pheasant	herd	able
ར	ཐོས་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲེག་པ	འཚོ་བ	ཐུབ་པ
山羊	看	*属格*	*否定*	*存在*	*连词*	野鸡	看	能

'"If there is no one to herd goats, then pheasants are able to herd (goats," said dʑe^{11} ji^{44} bu^{44}).'

ར་འཚོ་མཁན་མེད་ན་བྱ་སྲེག་པས་འཚོ་ཐུབ་ཅེས་རྒྱ་ཕྲུའུ་ཡིས་མུ་མཐུད་དུ་སྨྲས།

“没有 (人) 看山羊的话, 野鸡能看.”

(76)

ʂo ʂo ba mi	pæ	n̥u	te	hĩ na	dʑɛ ji bu	da	ʁo ʁo	dʑy	ro
ʂo ʂo ba mi	run	after	DP	wild animals	dʑɛ ji bu	DAT	help	come	PT
ཧོ་ཧོ་བྷ་མི	རྒྱུག	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རི་སྐྱེས་སྲོག་ཆགས	རྒྱ་ཕྲུའུ	ལ་དོན	རོགས་རམ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
硕硕巴米	跑	后	*连词*	动物	名字	*与格*	帮忙	来	*去时*

'After ʂo^{44} ʂo^{55} ba^{44} mi^{55} ran away, wild animals came to help dʑe^{11} ji^{44} bu^{44}.'

ཧོ་ཧོ་བྷ་མི་བྲོས་རྗེས། (རི་སྐྱེས་)སྲོག་ཆགས་རྣམས་རྒྱ་ཕྲུའུ་ལ་རོགས་རམ་བྱེད་དུ་འོངས།

索索巴米走掉后, 动物们来帮甲谱了。

(77)

la qo	mi	tɕʰə	qy̩	te	mi	tsə tsə	ma	qy̩	ro
crows	fire	make	know	DP	fire	add	NEG	know	PT
ཁྭ་ཏ	མེ	བཟོ་བ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མེ	སྣོན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
乌鸦	火	生	知道	*连词*	火	加	*否定*	知道	*去时*

'Crows knew making fire but didn't know (how to) add (the fuel to the) fire.'

ཁྭ་ཏས་མེ་འབུད་ཤེས་ནའང་མེའི་(ཐོག་ལ་འབུད་ཤིང་སོགས་)བསྣན་མ་ཤེས།

乌鸦知道烧火, 但是不会(往灶里)加(柴)火。

(78)

pa mi	ndzə	tʰʁy	qy̩	te	pɛ ta	li pʰu	ma	qy̩	ro
frog	water	carry	know	DP	shoulder pole	take off	NEG	know	PT
སྦལ་པ	ཆུ	འཁུར་བ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁུར་ཤིང	ལེན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
青蛙	水	挑	知道	*连词*	扁担	放	*否定*	知道	*去时*

'Frogs knew carrying water but didn't know (how to) take the shoulder pole off (from carrying two buckets of water).'

སྦལ་པས་ཆུ་ཁུར་ཤེས་ཀྱང་ཁུར་ཤིང་(ཕྲག་པ་ལས་མར་)ལེན་མ་ཤེས།

青蛙知道挑水, 但是(挑回来后)不知道放下扁担。

(79)

ru bʑi	zo̩	tɕo	qy̩	te	zo̩ zə	tɕʰə	ma	qy̩	ro
dragon	grain	grind	know	DP	seed/grain	put	NEG	know	PT
འབྲུག	འབྲུ་རིགས	འཐག་པ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུ་རྡོག	འཇོག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
龙	粮食	碾	知道	*连词*	种子/粮食	加/放	*否定*	知道	*去时*

'Dragons knew grinding grain but didn't know (how to) put grains (into the millstone hole).'

འབྲུག་གིས་འབྲུ་རིགས་འཐག་ཤེས་ཀྱང་འབྲུ་རྡོག་(རང་འཐག་ནང་དུ་)འཇོག་མ་ཤེས།

龙知道推磨, 却总是搞忘(往磨子里)放粮食。

(80)

xi	q^{h}o ræ	lu	qʏ̩	te	q^{h}o ræ	li	ʐ̩a ʁu	ma	ga dʑa	ro
pheasant	goat	herd	know	DP	goat	back	collect	NEG	know	PT
སྲེག་པ	ར	འཚོ་བ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ར	ཕྱིར	སྡུད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
野鸡	山羊	看	知道	*连词*	山羊	回	收	*否定*	知道	*去时*

'Pheasants knew (how to) herd goats but didn't know (how to) collect the goats.'

བྱ་སྲེག་པས་ར་མ་འཚོ་ཤེས་ཀྱང་(དེ་ཚོ་)ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྡུད་མ་ཤེས།

野鸡知道放山羊, 但是不会把(山羊)收回来。

(81)

dʑɛ ji bu	mbʐ̩ə	te	t^{h}ɛ	sə n̥i	jy na	tɕy jy	ga dʑa	k^{h} ʏ̩	m̩
dʑɛ ji bu	wife	DP	she	only	family	take care	know	quick	AVM
རྒྱ་ཕུའུ	ཆུང་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	ཁོ་ན	ཁྱིམ	སྐྱོང་བ	ཤེས་པ	མྱུར་དུ	བྱེད་ཚིག
甲谱	妻子	*连词*	她	才	家庭	料理	知道	赶快	*副标*

(82)

t^{h}ɛ	ʂ̩u	li	ma	bi	ɕə	ma	ʁa	ro	di
she	find	back	NEG	go	if	NEG	OK	PT	say
མོ	བཙལ་བ	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	སོང	གལ་ཏེ	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
她	找	回	*否定*	去	如果	*否定*	好/行	*去时*	说

'dʑe^{11} ji^{44} bu^{44}'s wife said, "Only she knows (how to) take care of the family; it is not OK if we don't go to find her (and bring her) back quickly."'

རྒྱ་ཕུའུ་ཡིས་ཆུང་མས་མོ་རང་ཁོ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་འདི་སྐྱོང་ཤེས་པས། གལ་ཏེ་ང་ཚོས་མྱུར་དུ་ཁོ་མོ་བཙལ་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཁྲིད་མ་ཡོང་ན་མི་འགྲིག་ཅེས་བཤད།

甲谱的妻子说: “(只有)她才懂得(怎样)料理家务, 如果(再)不去把她找回来就不行了。”

(83)

dʑɛ ji bu	mɛ k^ha	le	lɛ ʁu ru	ɕə ɕə	le	li	so ro	ro
dʑɛ ji bu	at a loss	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	make	DP	again	alive	PT
རྒྱ་ཕྱུའུ	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	བཟོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	གསོན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
名字	没办法	*连词*	名字	做/使	*连词*	回/复	生/活	*去时*

'dʑe^{11} ji^{44} bu^{44} had no choice and made lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} alive again.'

རྒྱ་ཕྱུའུ་ལ་ཐབས་གཞན་མེད་པས་ལེའུ་རུ་ཕྱིར་གསོན་དུ་བཅུག

甲谱没办法就使勒物如复活了。

(84)

mi ʑi mo	li	so ro	ȵu	te	ȵi ji mo	ha	li	dʑy	ro
brother	back	alive	after	DP	sister	also	again	come	PT
ཕུ་བོ	ཕྱིར	གསོན་པ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲིང་མོ	ཀྱང	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
哥哥	回	活	后	*连词*	妹妹	也	回	来	*去时*

'After Brother (lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}) was alive again, Sister also came back.'

ཕུ་བོ་ཕྱིར་གསོན་རྗེས་སྲིང་མོའང་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་བ་རེད།

哥哥复生后, 妹妹也回来了。

(85)

lɛ ʁu ru	li	so ro	le	ȵi ji mo	na	li	ʁu pʁu	te	ȵi ji mo
lɛ ʁu ru	back	alive	DP	sister	and	back/again	meet	DP	sister
ལེའུ་རུ	ཕྱིར	གསོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲིང་མོ	དང	ཕྱིར	ཐུག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲིང་མོ
勒物如	回	生	*连词*	妹妹	和	回	见	*连词*	妹妹

(86)

t^hi	ja	mi ʑi mo	hĩ	$tʂ^h$ə mi	la da	ȵi mi tsu tsu	nda	sə
DET	CL	brother	GEN	wife	about	worry	very	still
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕུ་བོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཆུང་མ	གང་ཞིག་གི་སྐོར	སེམས་ཁྲལ་བྱེད་པ	ཧ་ཅང	ད་དུང
限词	*量词*	哥哥	*属格*	妻子	关于	着急	很	仍然

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] was back alive and met Sister again but Sister was still very worried about Brother (not having a) wife.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཕྱིར་གསོན་པ་དང་ཡང་བསྐྱར་རང་གི་སྲིང་མོར་ཐུག་ནའང་། སྲིང་མོས་རང་གི་ཕུ་བོར་ཆུང་མ་ཞིག་འཚོལ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་སྣང་བཞིན་སེམས་ཁྲལ་བྱས།

勒物如复活了跟妹妹重逢, 妹妹还是非常地关心关于哥哥的婚事。

(87)

ti	n̥i	lɛ ʁu ru	ɕə	ly ly	qʰo	ɕy	te	m̩	ji	a y̩
one	CL	lɛ ʁu ru	tree	fruit	pick	go	DP	sky	GEN	father-in-law
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	སྡོང་པོ	ཤིང་ཏོག	འཐོག་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ
一	*量词*	名字	树	果子	摘	去	*连词*	天	*属格*	岳父

(88)

hĩ	zə mi	ʂ̩ə	ja	ʂ̩u ji dʙu tsʰə[A]	ndzu	le	dʙy	ʁo
GEN	girl	seven	CL	wing	take	DP	earth/world	LOC
འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བུ་མོ	བདུན	ཚད་ཚིག	ཧུའི་གཤོག་པ	སྡོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མི་ཡུལ	གནས་གཞི
属格	女儿	七	*量词*	婳伊都兹	坐	*连词*	地球	*位格*

(89)

mbɛ tʰo	ly	ʁo	gy̩ mɚ	tsʰə	su	tʰɛ	ræ	ndo	ro
lake	CL	LOC	body	wash	GEN	he	PRE-ATT	see	PT
མཚོ	ཚད་ཚིག	གནས་གཞི	ལུས་པོ	འཁྲུད་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཁོ	འདས་སྔོན	མཐོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
湖	*量词*	*位格*	身体	洗	*属格*	他	*前体*	见	*去时*

[A] Light wings.

'One day, when lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} went to pick tree fruits (he) saw Sky-father-in-law's seven daughters sitting in *ʂu^{53} jɪ^{53}* wings, (who had) come to wash (their) bodies (bathe) in a lake in the world.'[A]

ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ལེའུ་རུ་ཤིང་ཏོག་བཏོག་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ན། ལྷ་ཡུལ་གྱི་གྱོས་པོའི་བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོ་རྒྱུའི་གཤོག་པའི་སྟེང་དུ་བསྡད་ནས་མི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚོ་ནང་ལ་བབས་ཏེ་ལུས་པོ་འཁྲུད་བཞིན་པ་མཐོང་།

一天，勒物如去摘树果子的时候，他看见了天岳父家的七个女儿坐着娷伊都次(一种传说中的羽翅)来到人间, 在湖里洗浴。

(90)

lɛ ʁu ru	tsə pæ le	t^hjo	gʏ̩ mɚ	ts^hə	ro	lɔ	ɕy
lɛ ʁu ru	secretly	they	body	wash	LOC	watch	went
ལེའུ་རུ	སྐོག་ཏུ	ཁོ་ཚོ	ལུས་པོ	འཁྲུད་པ	*གནས་གཞི།*	ལྟ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ
勒物如	藏	他们	身体	洗	*方位*	看	去

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} went to watch the place (where) they were washing their bodies secretly.'

ལེའུ་རུ་སྐོག་ཏུ་ཁོ་ཚོའི་ལུས་པོ་འཁྲུད་སར་ལྟ་རུ་ཕྱིན།

勒物如躲藏起来, 偷偷地看她们洗浴。

(91)

lɛ ʁu ru	te	zə mi	a n̥o	tɕɛ	nda	t^hi	ja	lo	rə ga
lɛ ʁu ru	DP	girl	youngest	beautiful	very	DET	CL	GOAL	love
ལེའུ་རུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བུ་མོ	ཆེས་གཞོན་པ	མཛེས་པ	ཧ་ཅང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	དགའ་བ
勒物如	*连词*	女儿	老幺	漂亮	很	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	喜欢

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} loved the very beautiful youngest girl.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཆེས་གཞོན་པའི་བུ་མོ་མཛེས་མ་དེར་དགའ་བྱུང་།

勒物如喜欢上了那个漂亮的小女儿。

[A] Holy people live in the sky and their daughters come to the world to bathe at special times.

(92)

zə mi	a ȵo	tʰi	ja	hĩ	dʁu tsʰə[A]	lɛ ʁu ru	ȵi	tsə pæ	ta
girl	youngest	DET	CL	GEN	wing plane	name	ERG	hide	EXT
བུ་མོ	ཆེས་གཞོན་པ	རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གཤོག་པ	ལེའུ་རུ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སྦ་བ	ལས་མཐུན
女儿	幺	*限词*	*量词*	*属格*	娷伊都次	名字	*作格*	藏	*存在*

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] hid the youngest girl's wing plane.'

ལེའུ་རུས་བུ་མོ་ཆུང་བ་དེའི་གཤོག་པ་སྦས།

勒物如就把小女儿的娷伊都次藏了起来。

(93)

a ȵo	tʰi	ja	hĩ	mi	te	m̩	ji	ȵa gu mi	mi	lo
youngest	DET	CL	GEN	name	DP	sky	GEN	ȵa gu mi	call	MP
ཆེས་གཞོན་པ	རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	མིང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཉ་གུ་མེ	ཟེར་བ	ཚིག་རྟེགས
老幺	*限词*	*量词*	*属格*	名字	*连词*	天	*属格*	亮古米	叫	*语气*

'The youngest one's name was called Sky-ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11].'

བུ་མོ་ཆུང་བ་དེའི་མིང་ལ་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉ་གུ་མེ་ཟེར་བ་རེད།

小女儿的名字叫亮古米。

(94)

zə mi	væ qæ	tʰi ki	o ba	bʑi	li	ɕy	pi tsa	ro	te
girl	other	these	all	fly	back	go	finish/all	PT	DP
བུ་མོ	གཞན་པ	འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	འཕུར་བ	ཕྱིན	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
女儿	别的	这些	都	飞	回	去	完	*去时*	*连词*

[A] The *dʁu[44] tsʰə[55]* is a very light plane made from wings that sky creatures use to fly.

(95)

m̩	ji	ȵa gu mi	dʁu tsʰə	qʰo to	ka	li	bi	ma	pʰa	ro
sky	GEN	ȵa gu mi	wing plane	lost	DP	back	go	NEG	able	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཉ་གུ་མི	གཤོག་པ	བོར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག
天	*属格*	亮古米	娷伊都次	丢失	*连词*	回	去	*否定*	能	*去时*

'All these other girls already flew back but Sky-ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] lost (her) wing plane so (she) was not able to go back.'

བུ་མོ་གཞན་པ་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་འཕུར་སོང་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉ་གུ་མིའི་གཤོག་པ་བོར་བས་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་མ་ཐུབ།

别的女儿都(飞)回去了,但是亮古米却因为丢失了娷伊都次, 不能回去了。

(96)

ȵa gu mi	dʁu tsʰə	ʂ̥u	le	lɛ ʁu ru	da	mi do	dʑ̥y	ro
ȵa gu mi	wing plane	look for	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	ask	come	PT
ཉ་གུ་མི	གཤོག་པ	འཚོལ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	ལ་དོན	འདྲི་བ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
亮古米	娷伊都次	找	*连词*	勒物如	*与格*	问	来	*去时*

'ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] was looking for the wing plane and came to ask lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11].'

ཉ་གུ་མིས་གཤོག་པ་འཚོལ་བཞིན་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་འདྲི་བར་ཡོང་།

亮古米为了找到娷伊都次, 便来问勒物如。

(97)

ȵa gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	da	nu	ŋa	hĩ	dʁu tsʰə	a	ndo	le	di
ȵa gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	you	I	GEN	wing	INT	see	MP	say
ཉ་གུ་མི	ལེའུ་རུ	ལ་དོན	ཁྱོད	ང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གཤོག་པ	འདྲི་ཚིག	མཐོང་བ	ཚིག་སྟེགས	ཟེར
亮古米	勒物如	*与格*	你	我	*属格*	娷伊都次	*疑问*	见	*语气*	说

'ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] asked lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11], "Did you see my wing plane?"'

ཉ་གུ་མིས་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ངའི་ཕུའི་གཤོག་པ་མཐོང་བྱུང་ངམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།

亮古米问勒物如: “你看见我的娷伊都次了吗?”

(98)

lɛ ʁu ru	te	nu	hĩ	dʙu tsʰə	ha	ȵi	tʰɛ	ɕy	ro	di
lɛ ʁu ru	DP	you	GEN	wing plane	mouse	ERG	bite	away	PT	say
ལེའུ་རུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཕུའི་གཤོག་པ	བྱི་བ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སོ་འདེབས་པ	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
勒物如	*连词*	你	*属格*	娷伊都次	老鼠	*作格*	咬	去	*去时*	说

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] said, "Your wing plane was bitten and (pulled) away by mice."'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཕུའི་གཤོག་པ་བྱི་བས་སོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ཁྱེར་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

勒物如说: “你的娷伊都次被老鼠咬去了。”

(99)

ȵa gu mi	tʰi	tʰʙu	te	qʰa gy̩	ŋa	hĩ	dʙu tsʰə	ʂ̩u	le	ŋa
ȵa gu mi	DET	CL	DP	who	I	GEN	wing plane	find	DP	I
ཉ་གུ་མི	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སུ་ཞིག	ང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཕུའི་གཤོག་པ	འཚོལ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང
亮古米	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	谁	我	*属格*	娷伊都次	找	*连词*	我

(100)

ko	li	da	ɕy	ŋa	tʰɛ	hĩ	mi	m̩	ʁæ	di
give	back	come	if	I	he/his	GEN	wife	do/be	FT	say
སྤྲེར	ཕྱིར	ཡོང	གལ་ཏེ	ང	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཆུང་མ	བཟོ་བ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད་པ
给	回	来	如果	我	他	*属格*	妻子	当	*未时*	说

'At this time, ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] said, "If who (the one who) finds my wing plane and gives (it) back to me, then I will be his wife."'

སྐབས་འདིར་ཉ་གུ་མིས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། སུ་ཞིག་གིས་ངའི་ཕུའི་གཤོག་པ་བཙལ་ནས་ང་ལ་ཕྱིར་བྱིན་ན། ང་ཁོའི་ཆུང་མ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

这时, 亮古米说: “如果谁把我的娷伊都次找回来, （还）给我的话, 我要当他的妻子。”

(101)

lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	nu	hĩ	dʙu ts^{h}ə	te
lɛ ʁu ru	DET	CL	DP	you	GEN	wing plane	DP
ལེའུ་རུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གཤོག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
勒物如	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	你	*属格*	娷伊都次	*连词*

(102)

ha mi	ȵa tɕ^{h}y tɕ^{h}y	ȵi	t^{h}ɛ	le
mice	ȵa tɕ^{h}y tɕ^{h}y	ERG	bite	DP
བྱི་བ	ཉ་ཆུའུ་ཆུའུ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སོ་འདེབས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
老鼠	纳曲曲	*作格*	咬	*连词*

(103)

ndo p^{h}u[A]	væ	ʁo	tsə pæ	ta	di
ndo p^{h}u	cluster	LOC	hide	EXT	say
ཟྭ་ཚོད	ཚལ	གནས་གཞི	ཡིབ་པ	ལས་མཐུན	ཟེར
荨麻	丛	*位格*	藏	*存在*	说

'Now le^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} said, "Your wing plane was bitten and hidden in ndop^{h}u cluster by Mouse ȵa^{11} tɕ^{h}y^{44} tɕ^{h}y^{44}."'

སྐབས་འདིར། ལེའུ་རུས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཧྲུའི་གཤོག་པ་བྱི་བ་ཉ་ཆུའུ་ཆུའུ་ཡིས་སོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་ཟྭ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཚལ་དུ་སྦས་འདུག་ཟེར།

这时候，勒物如说：“你的娷伊都次被老鼠-纳曲曲(一种老鼠)咬到荨麻丛里藏着。”

(104)

ȵa gu mi	dʙu ts^{h}ə	li	ræ	ȵu	te	lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}ɛ	ȵi	la
ȵa gu mi	wing plane	back	found	after	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	she	ERG	OTM
ཉ་གུ་མི	གཤོག་པ	ཕྱིར	འཚོལ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཡུལ་ཚིག
亮古米	娷伊都次	回	找	后	*连词*	勒物如	她	*作格*	*宾标*

[A] A *ndo^{11} p^{h}u^{44}* is a bush with small thorns.

(105)

tʰɛ	hĩ	dʁu tsʰə	ʁo	tsu	le	m̩	ʁo	li	ɕy
her	GEN	wing plane	LOC	sit	DP	sky	LOC	back	went
མོའི	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གཤོག་པ	*གནས་གཞི*	སྡོད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ནམ་མཁའ	*གནས་གཞི*	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ
她	*属格*	娷伊都次	*位格*	坐	*连词*	天	*位格*	回	去

'After ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] found her wing plane, she had le[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] sit on her wing plane and went back to the sky.'

ཉ་གུ་མེས་(མོའི་)གཤོག་པ་ཕྱིར་རྙེད་རྗེས། (མོས་)ལེའུ་རུ་(རང་གི་)གཤོག་པ་ཐོག་ཏུ་འདུག་ཏུ་བཅུག་ནས་མཁའ་དབྱིངས་སུ་འཕུར།

亮古米找回娷伊都次后, 让勒物如坐在她的翅膀娷伊都次上, (飞)回去了。

(106)

m̩	li	to	ȵu	te	ȵa gu mi	ɛ qo	li	ʂa	ma
sky	back	arrive	after	DP	ȵa gu mi	home	back	tell	NEG
ནམ་མཁའ	ཕྱིར	སླེབ་པ	རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཉ་གུ་མེ	ཁྱིམ	ཕྱིར	བཤད	*དགག་སྒྲ*
天	回	到达	后	*连词*	亮古米	家	回	说	*否定*

(107)

ŋa	m̩	lɛ ʁu ru	tʰɛ	ȵi	la	ro tʰo	a qy̩ nu	tsə pæ
dare	AVM	lɛ ʁu ru	she	ERG	OTM	mill	behind	hide
ཕོད་པ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ལེའུ་རུ	མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	རང་འཐག	རྒྱབ་ཕྱོགས	ཡིབ་པ
敢	*副标*	名字	她	*作格*	*宾标*	磨子	背后	藏

'After arriving back to the sky, ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] didn't dare tell (the people in her) home (and) had lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] hide behind a mill.'

ཕྱིར་ནམ་མཁར་སླེབས་རྗེས། ཉ་གུ་མེས་(རང་གི་)ཁྱིམ་མིར་བཤད་མ་ཕོད་པར་ལེའུ་རུ་རང་འཐག་གི་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་ཡིབ་ཏུ་བཅུག

回到天上以后, 亮古米不敢告诉家人, 把勒物如藏在磨子背后。

(108)

n̠ʑa gu mi	te	dza	pʁu	le	lɛ ʁu ru	tɕə	ɕy	tɕə tɕə
n̠ʑa gu mi	DP	food	send	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	give to eat	went	often/always
ཉ་གུ་མི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟ་མ	སྐྱེལ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	ཟས་སུ་སྟེར་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	ཉིན་རྒྱུན
名字	*连词*	饭	送	*连词*	勒物如	吃	去	天天

'n̠ʑa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} always sent food and gave (it to) lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} to eat.'

ཉ་གུ་མིས་ཉིན་རྒྱུན་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་ཟ་མ་བསྐྱལ་ཏེ་ཟ་རུ་བཅུག

亮古米天天去送饭给勒物如吃。

(109)

ti	n̠ʑi	te	m̩	ji	a zə	zo̧	tɕo	dʑy	te
one	CL	DP	sky	GEN	mother-in-law	grain	grind	come	DP
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རྒྱུས་མོ	འབྲུ་རིགས	འཐག་པ	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
一	*量词*	*连词*	天	*属格*	婆婆/岳母	粮食	碾	来	*连词*

(110)

t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	tʂ^{h}ə mi	dja	tʂa	ka	lo tɕə	o	lo	dʑy	ro
he	GEN	wife	be	suppose	DP	stand	LOC	GOAL	come	PT
ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཆུང་མ	རེད	བསམ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལངས་པ	གནས་གཞི	ལས་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
他	*属格*	妻子	是	以为	*连词*	站	*位格*	*目词*	来	*去时*

'One day, when Sky-mother-in-law came to grind grain, (lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}) supposed (it) was his wife and stood up.'

ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ནམ་མཁའི་རྒྱུས་མོ་འབྲུ་རིགས་འཐག་ཏུ་ཡོང་པ་ན། (ལེའུ་རུས་)དེ་ནི་རང་གི་ཆུང་མ་ཡིན་པར་བསམས་ཏེ་ཡར་ལངས་ནས་ཡོང་།

一天，天婆婆来推磨的时候，(勒物如)以为是他的爱人(亮古米)，于是站起了起来。

(111)

hũ	tsʰo no	tsʰo no[A]	m̩
hair	fuzzy/haired	fuzzy/hairy	AVM
སྐྲ་	སྐྲ་གཞེངས་པ	སྐྲ་གཞེངས་པ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
头发	毛绒绒	毛绒绒	*副标*

(112)

m̩	ji	a zə	n̥i	ræ	ndo	ro
sky	GEN	mother-in-law	ERG	PRE-ATT	see	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	*འདས་སྔོན*	མཐོང	*འདས་ཚིག*
天	*属格*	婆婆	*作格*	*前体*	见	*去时*

'The fuzzy (lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}) was seen and found by Sky-mother-in law.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་མོས་སྐྲ་གཞེངས་ཡོད་པའི་ལེའུ་རུ་མཐོང་།

天婆婆看见了毛绒绒的勒物如。

(113)

m̩	ji	a zə	qʏ̩ li xi	le	lo	gʏ̩	lo pa	ro
sky	GEN	mother-in-law	scare	DP	GOAL	yell	ITR	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་མོ	འཇིགས་སྐྲག	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྐད་རྒྱག་པ	*བསྐྱར་ཟློས*	*འདས་ཚིག*
天	*属格*	岳母	害怕	*连词*	*目词*	叫喊	*重复*	*去时*

'Sky-mother-in law was scared and yelled again and again.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་མོ་སྐྲག་ཏེ་ཡང་དང་བསྐྱར་དུ་སྐད་བརྒྱབ།

天婆婆吓得(大声地)叫喊起来。

[A] All people were hairy long ago, according to na^{53} mz̥i^{53} traditional thought. *tsʰo^{11} no^{11}* suggests 'fuzzy' or 'hairy' in describing lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}. An adjective repeated twice adds emphasis.

(114)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	gi	ȵu	te	pæ	o	ly	dʑy	te
sky	GEN	father-in-law	hear	after	DP	run	there	see	come	DP
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ཐོས་པ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	དེ་ན	ལྟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	听见	后	*连词*	冲	那儿	看	来	*连词*

'After Sky-father-in-law heard, then (Sky-father-in law) came and ran there to see.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་དེ་ཐོས་རྗེས་བརྒྱུགས་ནས་ལྟ་རུ་ཡོང་།

天岳父听到以后, 跑到那儿来看。

(115)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	ȵi	ʁu hũ	mæ qɣ̩	le	lo	tɕə	dʑy
sky	GEN	father-in-law	ERG	hair	hold	DP	GOAL	pull	come
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སྐྲ་	འཛིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	འཐེན་པ	ཡོང་བ
天	*属格*	岳父	*作格*	头发	抓住	*连词*	*目词*	拉	来

'Sky-father-in-law held (lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}'s) hair and pulled (him) up.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་(ལེའུ་རུ་)ཡི་སྐྲ་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཡར་འཐེན།

(勒物如)被天岳父抓着头发, (从磨子背后)拉了上来。

(116)

la	tɕa	ndzə	ŋu	ka	ʂ̥u	pʁu ȵi[A]	tʁu pɛ	ta
OTM	cook	eat	say/want	DP	metal	steamer	empty	EXT
ཡུལ་ཚིག	བཙོ་བ	ཟ་བ	བཤད། བསམ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྕགས	ཁོ་ཚག	སྟོང་བ	ལས་མཐུན
宾标	煮	吃	说/想	*连词*	铁	蒸子	清空	*存在*

[A] A *pʁu^{11} ȵi^{11}* is a homemade rice steamer usually made from wood. In this story however, Sky-father-in-law's family had a special metal *pʁu^{11} ȵi^{11}*.

'(They) wanted to cook and eat (him) so they emptied the metal rice steamer.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཁོ་རང་བཙོས་ནས་ཟ་བསམ་སྟེ་ཁོ་ཚག་སྟོང་བར་བཏང་།

(他们) 想把他蒸着吃, 清空了铁蒸子。

(117)

ndzə tɕʰi	tsʰə dʑy	n̥u	te
hot water	boil	after	DP
ཆུ་ཁོལ	འཁོལ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
开水	开	后	*连词*

(118)

m̥	ji	a y̥	n̥i	la	tʰa	ro
sky	GEN	father-in-law	ERG	OTM	scald	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་པོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	ཆུ་ཁོལ་གྱིས་བསྲེག་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
天	*属格*	岳父	*作格*	*宾标*	烫	*去时*

'After the water boiled, (lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]) was scalded by Sky-father-in-law.'

ཆུ་ཁོལ་ཁོལ་རྗེས། ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་ཆུ་ཁོལ་ཚ་པོས་(ལེའུ་རུ་)བསྲེགས།

水开了以后, 天岳父(把勒物如放到大锅里用开水)烫。

(119)

tʰa	pi tsa	qa qa	tʰʙu	te	n̥a gu mi	li	dʑy	ro
scald	finish	almost	when	DP	n̥a gu mi	back	come	PT
ཆུ་ཁོལ་གྱིས་བསྲེག་པ	ཚར་བ	ཉེ་བ	སྐབས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཉ་གུ་མི	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
烫	完	刚	时候	*连词*	名字	回	来	*去时*

'When (they had) almost finish scalding (him), n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] came back (and made them stop scalding him).'

ཆུ་ཁོལ་ཚ་པོས་བསྲེགས་ཚར་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཉ་གུ་མི་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་།

快烫完的时候, 亮古米回来了。

(120)

t^{h}i	t^{h}ʁu	te	ʁu ru	na	ja dʁu q^{h}æ	ji k^{h}ṿ
DET	CL	DP	head	and	armpit	under
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མགོ	དང	མཆན་འོག	འོག
限词	*量词*	*连词*	头	和	腋窝	下

(121)

ndzə tɕ^{h}ə	zo	ma	p^{h}a	ro	na na	hũ	n̥i ka	li	ndʑə	ro
hot water	reach	NEG	able	area	only	hair	few	back	left	PT
ཆུ་ཁོལ	ཐོན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	ས་གནས	ཁོ་ན	སྐྲ	ཉུང་ཙམ	ཕྱིར	ལུས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
开水	到	*否定*	能	地方	仅仅	头发	一点	回	留	*去时*

'At this moment only a few hairs (were) left on the head and under the armpits, (where) hot water could not reach.'

སྐབས་འདིར་ཆུ་ཁོལ་ཐོན་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་གནས་ཏེ། མགོ་དང་མཆན་འོག་ཁོ་ན་ལས་(སྤུ་)ལུས་མི་འདུག

这时候, 仅在开水汤不到的头上和腋窝下剩了一点毛发。

(122)

a mi	ts^{h}o	gṿ mɚ	hu	ma	ndʑi	su	te
now	man	body	fuzz	NEG	EXT	GEN	DP
ད་ལྟ	མི	ལུས་པོ	སྤུ	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
现在	人	身	毛	*否定*	*存在*	*属格*	*连词*

(123)

t^{h}i	ti	n̥i	t^{h}ɛ	n̥i	t^{h}a	mi ŋga	su	dja	le
DET	one	CL	he/him	ERG	scald	SUF-COM	GEN	be	MP
ངེས་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཆུ་ཁོལ་གྱིས་སྲེག་པ	འདས་རྗེས	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རེད	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
限词	一	*量词*	他	*作格*	烫	*后体*	*属格*	是	*语气*

'Now there is no fuzz on men's bodies because it was scalded by him (Sky-father-in-law.)'[A]

ད་ལྟ་མིའི་ལུས་པོར་སྤུ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི་ཉིན་དེར་ཁོས་(ནམ་མཁའི་སྒྱོས་པོ་)ཆུ་ཁོལ་ཚ་པོས་བསྲེགས་པའི་ཕྱིར།

说是现在(我们)人身上没有毛发的 (原因) 就是那天被(天岳父用开水)烫掉的。

(124)

ȵa gu mi	ȵi	ta m̩	t^{h}a	m̩	ts^{h}o	zə	li	ndʑə	di
ȵa gu mi	ERG	like this	NEG	do	man	seed	back	leave	say
ཉ་གུ་མེ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	འདི་འདྲ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མི	ས་བོན	ཕྱིར	ལུས་པ	ཟེར
亮古米	*作格*	这样	*否定*	做	人	种	回	留	说

(125)

te	m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	li	ȵi	ro
DP	sky	GEN	father-in-law	back	stop	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	སྒྱོས་པོ	ཕྱིར	མ་འོངས་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
连词	天	*属格*	岳父	回	停	*去时*

'ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} said, "Don't do like this, leave the world a man's seed," and Sky-father-in-law stopped.'[B]

ཉ་གུ་མེས་དེ་ལྟར་མ་བྱེད་ཅིག འཇིག་རྟེན་མིའི་རྗེས་རབས་པ་ལུས་སུ་བཅུག་ཅེས་བཤད་པ་ན་ནམ་མཁའི་སྒྱོས་པོས་མཚམས་བཞག།

亮古米说: “别这样, 为人间留下人种吧,” 天岳父听后停了下来。

(126)

t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	ȵa gu mi	t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	a da	da
DET	CL	DP	ȵa gu mi	her	GEN	father	DAT
ངེས་ཚིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཉ་གུ་མེ	མོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཨ་ཕ	*ལ་དོན*
限词	*量词*	*连词*	亮古米	她	*属格*	爸爸	*与格*

[A] Modern humans do not have hairy bodies because the hair was all scalded off by Sky-Father-in-law that day.

[B] "If you kill him, the last man from earth, then there will never be humans again."

(127)

lɛ ʁu ru	go	m̩	dʑy	su	ti	qʰʏ̩	ti	qʰʏ̩	m̩	ʂ̥o
lɛ ʁu ru	what	do	come	GEN	one	CL	one	CL	AVM	tell
ལེའུ་རུ	ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད་པ	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་ཚིག	བཤད་པ
勒物如	什么	做	来	*属格*	一	*量词*	一	*量词*	*副标*	说

'At this moment, ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} told her father sentence by sentence of what lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} had come to do.'

སྐབས་འདིར། ཉ་གུ་མེས་མོའི་ཨ་ཕར་ལེའུ་རུ་ཅི་བྱེད་དུ་ཡོང་བ་ཚང་མ་ཇི་མ་ཇི་བཞིན་བཤད།

这时候, 亮古米向她的爸爸一五一十地讲了勒物如是来干什么的。

(128)

a ʏ̩	tʰɛ	hĩ	zə mi	la	lɛ ʁu ru	tʂ̥ʰə mi	m̩	hĩ	ma	tɕ̥ʰy
father-in-law	he	GEN	daughter	OTM	lɛ ʁu ru	wife	do/be	PER	NEG	want
གྱོས་པོ	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བུ་མོ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	ཆུང་མ	བྱེད་པ	སྐུལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ
岳父	他	*属格*	女儿	*宾标*	名字	妻子	做	*祈使*	*否定*	想

'Father-in-law didn't want to let his daughter be lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}'s wife.'

གྱོས་པོས་ཁོའི་བུ་མོ་ལེའུ་རུ་ཡི་ཆུང་མ་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་ན་མ་འདོད།

可是, 天岳父不想让他的女儿做勒物如的妻子。

(129)

a ʏ̩	lɛ ʁu ru	da	nu	hɛ rə	NGʏ̩	pʰɛ	pʰu	hũ
father-in-law	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	you	dry land	nine	CL	dig	go
གྱོས་པོ	ལེའུ་རུ	ལ་དོན	ཁྱོད	ཞིང་རི་མ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ	སོང
岳父	勒物如	*与格*	你	旱地	九	*量词*	挖	去

(130)

hε rə	NGY̩	p^hε	p^hu	pi tsa	te	ŋa	zə mi	nu	ko	di
dry land	nine	CL	dig	finish	DP	I	girl	you	give	say
ཞིང་རི་མ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	རྐོ་བ	ཚར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ང	བུ་མོ	ཁྱོད	སྟེར་བ	བཤད་པ
旱地	九	*量词*	挖	完	*连词*	我	女儿	你	给	说

'Father-in-law said to lε^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}, "You go dig nine dry land[A], you dig nine (fields of) dry land then I will give my daughter to you."'

གྱོས་པོས་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་སོང་ནས་ཞིང་རི་མ་དགུ་སློག་ཅིག ཞིང་རི་མ་དགུ་སློག་ཚར་རྗེས་ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་བུ་མོ་སྟེར་ཟེར།

天岳父对勒物如说: “你去挖九块旱地，挖完九块旱地后(我就将)女儿(嫁)给你。”

(131)

lε ʁu ru	t^hε	ȵi	qy̩	le	q^ha gy̩	hε rə	NGY̩	ts^hu	qæ	p^ha
lε ʁu ru	he	ERG	frighten	DP	who	dry land	nine	CL	dig	can
ལེའུ་རུ	ཁོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	འཇིགས་སྐུལ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སུ་ཞིག	ཞིང་རི་མ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	རྐོ་བ	ཐུབ་པ
勒物如	他	*作格*	吓	*连词*	谁	旱地	九	*量词*	挖	能

(132)

ŋa	ma	p^ha	ŋa	li	bi	ro	di
I	NEG	can	I	back	go	FT	say
ང	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཐུབ་པ	ང	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ་བ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	ཟེར་བ
我	*否定*	能	我	回	去	*未时*	说

'lε^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} was frightened by him and said, "Who can dig nine (fields of) dry land? I can not, I will go back home."'

ལེའུ་རུ་འཇིགས་སྐྲག་སྐྱེས་ནས་སུ་ཞིག་གིས་ཞིམ་རི་མ་དགུ་སློག་ཐུབ། ངས་མི་ཐུབ། ང་རང་ཕྱིར་ཡུལ་ལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བཤད།

勒物如吓得叹着气说: “谁能挖完九块旱地, 我不能, 要回去了。”

[A] *hε^{53} rə^{53}* or dry land is non-irrigated land on mountain slopes used to grow corn, potatoes, beans and so on.

(133)

n̡a gu mi	n̡i	nu	tɕa tsʰə	ɴɢʏ̣	la	la	rə	mæ	lo	tɕə
n̡a gu mi	ERG	you	mattock	nine	OTM	take	field	edge	GOAL	put
ཉ་གུ་མི	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཁྱོད	རྐོ་མ	དགུ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཁྱེར་བ	ཞིང་རི་མ	མཇུག	ལས་ཚིག	འཇོག་པ
亮古米	*作格*	你	锄头	九	*宾标*	拿	地	底端	*目词*	放

(134)

ka	ɴɢʏ̣	qæ hĩ	nu	lo	qæ	ɴɢʏ̣	lo mæ	nu	lo	qæ	ŋu
DP	Nine	CL	you	GOAL	dig	nine	CL	you	GOAL	dig	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ	བཤད
连词	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	挖	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	挖	说

(135)

te	nu	qæ	ma	hũ	di
DP	you	dig	NEG	need	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	རྐོ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	དགོས	བཤད
连词	你	挖	*否定*	需要	说

'n̡a[11] gu[44] mi[11] said, "You take nine mattocks and put (them) at the edge of the field and say, 'Dig you nine mattocks and dig you nine fields,' and you don't need to dig."'

ཉ་གུ་མིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་རྐོ་མ་དགུ་འཁྱེར་ཏེ་ཞིང་སའི་འགྲམ་དུ་བཞག་རྗེས། རྐོ་མ་དགུ་པོ་རྐོ་རོགས་མཛོད། ཞིང་ས་དགུ་པོ་རྐོ་རོགས་མཛོད་ཅེས་ཐོན་དང་། ཁྱོད་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་སློག་མི་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

亮古米说: “你拿九把锄头放在旱地的底端, 然后说'挖你九锄头, 挖你九块(地),' 你不需要挖。”

(136)

lɛ ʁu ru	n̡a gu mi	s̥a	m̩	ka	hɛ rə	ɴɢʏ̣	tsʰu	dʙu	ro
lɛ ʁu ru	n̡a gu mi	tell	AVM	DP	field	nine	CL	become	PT
ལེའུ་རུ	ཉ་གུ་མི	བཤད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང་རི་མ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	འགྱུར་བ	འདས་ཚིག
勒物如	亮古米	说	*副标*	*连词*	旱地	九	*量词*	变成	*去时*

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} did as ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} told and it became nine fields.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཡིས་ཉ་གུ་མིས་བཤད་པ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྒྲུབས་པས་དེ་ཞིང་ས་དགུར་གྱུར་སོང་།

勒物如按亮古米说的一样做后, (奇迹出现了, 那山岭突然)变成了九块土地。

(137)

lɛ ʁu ru	a ɣ̩	da	zə mi	ŋa	ko	a	qæ	ro	di
lɛ ʁu ru	father-in-law	DAT	daughter	I	give	INT	will	FT	say
ལེའུ་རུ	གྱོས་པོ	*ལ་དོན*	བུ་མོ	ང	སྟེར་བ	*འདྲི་ཚིག*	རྒྱུ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད
勒物如	岳父	*与格*	女儿	我	给	*疑问*	要	*未时*	说

(138)

te	nu	hɛ rə	t^{h}i	NGɣ̩	ts^{h}ə	mi ta	hũ	sə	di
DP	you	dry land	DET	nine	CL	burn	go	again	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཞིང་རི་མ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	སྲེག་པ	སོང	ཡང་བསྐྱར	བཤད
连词	你	旱地	*限词*	九	*量词*	烧	去	再	说

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} said, "Father-in-law will (you) give me your daughter?" then Father-in-law said, "You go again and burnA these nine (fields of) dry land."'

ལེའུ་རུས་གྱོས་པོ་ལགས། ང་(ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་)བུ་མོ་ང་ལ་བྱིན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། གྱོས་པོས་ཁྱོད་ཡང་བསྐྱར་སོང་ནས་ཞིང་ས་དགུ་པོ་སྲེག་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

勒物如对天岳父说: “女儿要给我了吗?” (他却)说: “你再去把那九块旱地 (的树木和杂草) 烧掉。”

(139)

ȵa gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	da	nu	mi t^{h}ʙy	NGɣ̩	t^{h}ʙy	tɕɛ	le
ȵa gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	you	torch	nine	CL	light	DP
ཉ་གུ་མི	ལེའུ་རུ	*ལ་དོན*	ཁྱོད	དཔལ་འབར	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	སྦྲོ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
亮古米	勒物如	*与格*	你	火把	九	*量词*	点	*连词*

A Many trees and branches are cut when opening new land for cultivation and then burned to fertilize the land.

(140)

rə	mæ	lo	tɕə	ka	NGY̩	ka hĩ	nu	lo	tɕɛ
field	end	GOAL	put	DP	nine	CL	you	GOAL	light
ས་ཞིང	མཇུག	*ལས་ཚིག*	འཇོག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྒྲོན་པ
土地	底端	*目词*	放	*连词*	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	点

(141)

NGY̩	lo mæ	nu	lo	tɕɛ	di	ro	sə
nine	CL	you	GOAL	light	say	PT	again
དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྒྲོན་པ	བཤད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
九	*量词*	你	*目词*	点	说	*去时*	又

'ŋ̥a^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} said to lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} again, "You light nine torches and put (them) on the edge of the fields and say, 'Burn you nine torches and burn you nine fields.''"

ཉ་གུ་མེས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་འབར་དགུ་མེར་སྒྲོན་ནས་ཞིང་མཐར་བཞག་སྟེ། དཔལ་འབར་དགུ་མེར་སྒྲོན་ཞིག ས་ཞིང་དགུ་མེར་སྒྲོན་རོགས་ཞེས་ཐོན་དང་ཞེས་ཟེར།

这时, 亮古米又对勒物如说: “你点上九根火把, 放在土地的底端, 然后说'点你九根火把, 点你九块土地。'”

(142)

lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	ba hɛ	le	rə	mi	tɕɛ	ɕy	ro	sə
lɛ ʁu ru	he/her	GEN	listen	DP	field	fire	light	went	PT	again
ལེའུ་རུ	མོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཉན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ས་ཞིང	མེ	སྒྲོན་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
勒物如	她	*属格*	听	*连词*	土地	火	点	去	*去时*	又

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} listened to her and went again to light the fire.'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་མོའི་ཁ་ལ་ཉན་ནས་ས་ཞིང་མེར་སྒྲོན་དུ་སོང་།

勒物如听了她的(话), 又去点旱地(里的树枝和杂草)了.

(143)

mi t^{h}ʙy	NGY̩	t^{h}ʙy	t^{h}ɛ	n̥i	tɕɛ	le	rə	NGY̩	ts^{h}u
torch	nine	CL	he	ERG	light	DP	field	nine	CL
དཔལ་འབར	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སྒྲོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ས་ཞིང	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག
火把	九	*量词*	他	*作格*	点	*连词*	土地	九	*量词*

(144)

NGY̩	mæ	lo	tɕə	ka	NGY̩	ka hĩ	nu	lo	tɕɛ
nine	end	GOAL	put	DP	nine	CL	you	GOAL	light
དགུ	མཇུག	ལས་ཚིག	འཇོག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	སྒྲོན་པ
九	底端	*目词*	放	*连词*	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	点

(145)

lo mæ	nu	lo	tɕɛ	di	te	tɕɛ	pi tsa	ro	sə
CL	you	GOAL	light	say	DP	light	finish	PT	again
ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	སྒྲོན་པ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྒྲོན་པ	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
量词	你	*目词*	点	说	*连词*	点	完	*去时*	又

'He lit nine torches and put (them) on edges of the nine fields and said, "Light you nine torches and light you nine fields," then finished lighting again.'

ཁོས་དཔལ་འབར་དགུ་མེར་བསྒྲོན་ནས་ཞིང་དགུ་ཡི་མཐར་བཞག་སྟེ། དཔལ་འབར་དགུ་མེ་སྒྲོན་ཞིག ས་ཞིང་དགུ་པོ་མེར་སྒྲོན་ཞིག་ཅེས་བཤད་ནས་(ས་ཞིང་ཚང་མ་མེར་)བསྲེགས།

他点着了九根火把，放在了九片土地的底端，说：“点你九根火把，点你九块土地,”(九块土地里的树枝杂草一会儿)就又烧完了。

(146)

li	dʑy	le	a y̩	k^{h}a rə	tɕ^{h}ə ta	hɛ rə	o ba	mi tɕɛ
back	went	DP	father-in law	beside	from	field	all	burn
ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གྱོས་པོ	འགྲམ་དུ	གནས	ཞིང་རི་མ	ཚང་མ	སྲེག་པ
回	去	*连词*	岳父	旁边	从	旱地	都	烧

(147)

pi tsa	ro	nu	hĩ	zə mi	ko	a	qæ	ro	a ỵ	di
finish	PT	your	GEN	girl	give	INT	will	PT	father-in-law	say
ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བུ་མོ	སྤྲེར་བ	འདྲི་ཚིག	རྒྱུ	འདས་ཚིག	གྱོས་པོ	བཤད
完	*去时*	你	*属格*	女儿	给	*疑问*	要	*去时*	岳父	说

'(lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]) went back beside Father-in-law and said, "All the fields are burned so will you give your daughter (to me)?"'

(ཁོ་)ཕྱིར་གྱོས་པོའི་འགྲམ་དུ་སོང་ནས་ཞིང་རི་མ་ཚང་མ་བསྲེགས་ཚར་སོང་། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་(ང་ལ་)སྤྲེར་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཞེས་བཤད།

(勒物如)回到天岳父的身边去说: “岳父, 旱地(里的树枝)都烧完了, 你的女儿可以给(我)了吗?”

(148)

m̩	ji	a ỵ	tʰi	tʰʙu	te	nu	mi ta	pi tsa	ro	dɛ
sky	GEN	father-in-law	DET	CL	DP	you	burn	finish	PT	INT
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	སྲེག་པ	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	འདྲི་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	你	烧	完	*去时*	*疑问*

(149)

nu	hɛ rə	tʰi	ɴɢỵ	tsʰu	lo	li	tɕa pʰu	hũ	di
you	dry land	DET	nine	CL	GOAL	back	overturn	go	say
ཁྱོད	ཞིང་རི་མ	ངེས་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	མགོ་རྡིང་སློག་པ	སོང	བཤད
你	旱地	*限词*	九	*量词*	*目词*	回	翻	去	说

'Now Sky-father-in-law said, "You finished burning? Then you go overturn[A] the nine (fields of) dry land back up."'

སྐབས་འདིར་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བསྲེགས་ཚར་སོང་ངམ། དེ་ན་ཁྱོད་སོང་ནས་ཞིང་འདི་དགུ་པོ་མགོ་རྡིང་སློག་ཞེར།

这时, 天岳父说: “(哦,)你烧完了吗？你回去把那九块旱地(都)再翻(一遍)吧。”

[A] New land is dug with a pick. When bushes and trees are encountered, they are cut, left to dry, burned and then a long-handled mattock is used to turn over the soil to put the ash inside the soil.

(150)

lɛ ʁu ru	t^hi	t^hʙu	te	ʁu ru	da	ka ka	ro
lɛ ʁu ru	DET	CL	DP	head	only	shake	PT
ལེའུ་རུ	རིས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	མགོ	ཁོ་ན	གཡུག་པ	འདས་ཚིག
勒物如	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	头	只	摇	*去时*

'At this moment, lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] only shook[A] (his) head.'
སྐབས་འདིར། ལེའུ་རུ(ལ་ཐབས་གཞན་མེད་པས་)མགོ་ཁོ་ན་(ཡང་ཡང་)གཡུགས།
勒物如(感到无可奈何,)只好摇头。

(151)

ȵa gu mi	dʑy	le	t^hɛ	k^ha rə	to	dʑy	ro	sə
ȵa gu mi	come	DP	he	beside	arrive	come	PT	again
ཉ་གུ་མི	ཡོང་བ	སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	འགྲམ་དུ	སླེབ་པ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
亮古米	来	*连词*	他	身边	到	来	*去时*	又

'ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] came and arrived beside him again.'
ཉ་གུ་མི་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཁོའི་འགྲམ་དུ་བསླེབས།
亮古米又来到了他的身边。

(152)

nu	tɕa ts^hə	NGY̩	la	la	rə	mæ	tɕə	ka	NGY̩	qæ hĩ
you	mattock	nine	CL	OTM	field	end	put	DP	nine	CL
ཁྱོད	ཏོ་མ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ས་ཞིང	མཇུག	འཇོག་པ	སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག
你	锄头	九	*量词*	*宾标*	土地	底端	放	*连词*	九	*量词*

[A] Shaking the head back and forth indicates one is at a loss as to what to do.

(153)

nu	lo	tɕa pʰu	NGỵ	lo mæ	nu	lo	tɕa pʰu	ŋu
you	GOAL	overturn	nine	CL	you	GOAL	overturn	say
ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	མགོ་ཏིང་སློག་པ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	མགོ་ཏིང་སློག་པ	བཤད་པ
你	*目词*	翻	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	翻	说

'n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] said, "You take nine mattocks and put (them at) the field edges and say, 'Overturn you nine mattocks, overturn you nine fields.''"

ན་གུ་མིས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཏོ་མ་དགུ་འཁྱེར་ནས་ཞིང་མཐར་བཞག་སྟེ། ཏོ་མ་དགུ་པོ་ཏོ་རོགས་མཛོད། ས་ཞིང་དགུ་པོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཏོ་རོགས་མཛོད་ཅེས་ཤོད་ཟེར།

(亮古米)说: “你(把)九把锄头放到(那九块)旱地的底端, 就说'挖你九锄头, 挖你九块土地。'”

(154)

lɛ ʁu ru	rə	tɕa pʰu	pi tsa	le	li	dʑy	ro	sə
lɛ ʁu ru	field	overturn	finish	DP	back	come	PT	again
ལེའུ་རུ	ས་ཞིང	མགོ་ཏིང་སློག་པ	ཚར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
勒物如	土地	翻	完	*连词*	回	来	*去时*	又

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] finished overturning the fields and came back again.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཡིས་ཞིང་ས་མགོ་ཏིང་བསློགས་ཚར་རྗེས་ཕྱིར་ལོག

翻完之后, 勒物如回来了。

(155)

lɛ ʁu ru	a ỵ	da
lɛ ʁu ru	father-in-law	DAT
ལེའུ་རུ	གྱོས་པོ	*ལ་དོན*
勒物如	岳父	*与格*

(156)

rə	li	tɕa pʰu	pi tsa	ro	di
field	back	overturn	finish	PT	say/tell
ས་ཞིང་	ཕྱིར་	མགོ་རྡིང་སློག་པ་	ཚར་བ་	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད
土地	回	翻	完	*去时*	说

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] told (his) father-in-law, "(I) finished overturning the fields back again."'

ལེའུ་རུས་གྱོས་པོ་ལ། (ངས་ས་)ཞིང་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཕྱིར་མགོ་རྡིང་བསློགས་ཚར་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

勒物如对天岳父说: “旱地翻完了。”

(157)

nu	ja qʰa	NGY̩	bɛ dʁu	la	o	pʰa	li	hũ	di
you	buckwheat	nine	CL	OTM	there	sow	back	go	say
ཁྱོད་	བྲ་བོ་	དགུ་	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	དེ་ན་	འདེབས་པ་	ཕྱིར་	སོང་	བཤད
你	荞麦	九	*量词*	*宾标*	那儿	撒播	回	去	说

'(Father-in-law) said, "You take nine packages of buckwheat (seed) and sow back there."'

(ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བྲ་བོ་ཁུག་མ་དགུ་དེར་འཁྱེར་སོང་ནས་(དེ་དག་)འདེབས་དགོས་ཟེར།

(天岳父)说: “你拿九袋荞麦(种子), 回去撒到那(九块地里) 。”

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lɛ ʁu ru	mɛ kʰa	le	ȵa gu mi	da	mi do	li	ɕy	ro	sə
lɛ ʁu ru	at a loss	DP	ȵa gu mi	DAT	ask	back	went	PT	again
ལེའུ་རུ་	ཐབས་ཟད་པ་	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཉ་གུ་མི་	*ལ་དོན་*	འདྲི་བ་	ཕྱིར་	ཕྱིན་པ་	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
勒物如	没办法	*连词*	亮古米	*与格*	询问	回	去	*去时*	又

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] was at a loss and went back to ask ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] again.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་ཐབས་གཞན་མེད་པས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཉ་གུ་མི་ལ་འདྲི་བར་ཕྱིན།

勒物如束手无策, 又回去询问亮古米。

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ma	qɣ̩	ma	qɣ̩	nu	ja $q^{h}a$	$t^{h}i$	ɴɢɣ̩	bɛ dʁu	la
NEG	worry	NEG	worry	you	buckwheat	DET	nine	CL	OTM
དགག་སྒྲ	སེམས་ཁྲལ	དགག་སྒྲ	སེམས་ཁྲལ	ཁྱོད	བྲ་བོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*
否定	担心	*否定*	担心	你	荞麦	*限词*	九	*量词*	*宾标*

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rə	$t^{h}i$	ɴɢɣ̩	$ts^{h}u$	mæ	lo	tɕə	ka	ɴɢɣ̩	bɛ dʁu
field	DET	nine	CL	edge	GOAL	put	DP	nine	CL
ས་ཞིང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མཇུག	*ལས་ཚིག*	འཇོག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*
土地	*限词*	九	*量词*	底端	*目词*	放	*连词*	九	*量词*

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nu	lo	$p^{h}a$	ɴɢɣ̩	lo mæ	nu	lo	$p^{h}a$	ŋu	di
you	GOAL	sow	nine	CL	you	GOAL	sow	say	say
ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	གཏོར་འདེབས	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	གཏོར་འདེབས	བཤད	བཤད
你	*目词*	撒播	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	撒播	说	说

'(ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11}) said, "Don't worry, don't worry, you take the nine packages of buckwheat (seed) and put (them) on the edges of the nine fields and say, 'Sow you nine packages of buckwheat (seed), sow you nine fields.''''

ཉ་གུ་མེས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། སེམས་ཁྲལ་མ་བྱེད། སེམས་ཁྲལ་མ་བྱེད། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བྲ་བོ་ཁུག་མ་དགུ་འཁྱེར་ནས་ས་ཞིང་དགུ་པོའི་མཐར་བཞག་སྟེ། ཁུག་མ་དགུ་པོ་གཏོར་འདེབས་བྱོས། ས་ཞིང་དགུ་པོར་གཏོར་འདེབས་བྱོས་ཞེས་སློན་ཟེར།

(亮古米)说: “别担心, 别担心, 你拿这九袋荞麦(种子), 放在那九片旱地的底端, (然后)说'撒你九袋(荞麦), 撒你九片(旱地) 。'”

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lɛ ʁu ru	ha ʂə	ȵa gu mi	ʂa	m̩
lɛ ʁu ru	still/like before	ȵa gu mi	tell	AVM
ལེའུ་རུ	སྔར་བཞིན	ཉ་གུ་མེ	བཤད	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
勒物如	还是	亮古米	说	*副标*

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ja q^{h}a	p^{h}a	ɕy	ro	sə
buckwheat	sow	went	PT	again
བྲ་བོ	འདེབས་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
荞麦	撒播	去	*去时*	又

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11], like before, went to sow buckwheat again as ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] told.'

ཉ་གུ་མེས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར། ལེའུ་རུ་སྔར་བཞིན་ཕྱིར་བྲ་བོ་གཏོར་འདེབས་བྱེད་དུ་སོང་།

勒物如还是按亮古米所说的一样去撒播荞麦。

(164)

NGỵ	bɛ dʙu	nu	lo	p^{h}a	NGỵ	lo mæ	nu	lo	p^{h}a
nine	CL	you	GOAL	sow	nine	CL	you	GOAL	sow
དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	འདེབས་པ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*ལས་ཚིག*	འདེབས་པ
九	*量词*	你	*目词*	撒播	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	撒播

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di	te	ti	t^{h}ʙu	m̩	p^{h}a	pi tsa	ro	sə
say	DP	one	CL	AVM	sow	finish	PT	again
ཟེར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	གཏོར་འདེབས	ཚར་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
说	*连词*	一	*量词*	*副标*	撒播	完	*去时*	又

'(He) said, "You sow nine packages (of buckwheat seed), you sow nine fields," and finished sowing in one moment (immediately).'

(ལེའུ་རུས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) བྲ་བོའི་ཁུག་མ་དགུ་བོ་གཏོར་འདེབས་བྱོས། ས་ཞིང་དགུ་བོར་གཏོར་འདེབས་བྱོས་ཞེས་བཏོན་པ་ན། སྐད་ཅིག་ཉིད་ལ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་བཏབ་ཚར་སོང་།

(他) 说: “撒你九袋(荞麦), 撒你九片(旱地),” 一会儿工夫就(把种子)撒完了。

(166)

lɛ ʁu ru	t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	a ɣ̩	k^{h}a rə	li	ɕy	ro	sə
lɛ ʁu ru	his	GEN	father-in-law	beside	back	went	PT	again
ལེའུ་རུ	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	འགྲམ་དུ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
勒物如	他	*属格*	岳父	旁边	回	去	*去时*	又

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] went back beside his father-in-law again.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཁོའི་གྱོས་པོའི་འགྲམ་དུ་སོང་།

勒物如又回到了他的岳父身边。

(167)

t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	a ɣ̩	da
he	GEN	father-in-law	DAT
ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ལ་དོན
他	*属格*	岳父	*与格*

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a ɣ̩	ja q^{h}a	p^{h}a	pi tsa	ro	di
father-in-law	buckwheat	sow	finish	PT	say
གྱོས་པོ	བྲ་བོ	འདེབས་པ	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
岳父	荞麦	撒播	完	*去时*	说

'(He) said to his father-in-law, "Father-in-law, (I) finished sowing the buckwheat (seed)."'

ཁོའི་གྱོས་པོ་ལ། གྱོས་པོ་ལགས། ངས་བྲ་བོ་བཏབ་ཚར་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

(勒物如)对他的岳父说: “岳父, 荞麦撒完了。”

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m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	nu	ja q^{h}a	li	qɣ̩	te
sky	GEN	father	DET	CL	DP	you	buckwheat	back	collect	DP
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	བྲ་བོ	ཕྱིར	སྡུད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	你	荞麦	回	检	*连词*

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ŋa	hĩ	zə mi	nu	ko	di
I	GEN	daughter	you	give	say
ངའི	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བུ་མོ	ཁྱོད	སྤྲེར་བ	ཟེར
我	*属格*	女儿	你	给	说

'At this moment, Sky-father-in-law said, "You collect the buckwheat (seed) back then (I) will give my daughter to you."'

སྐབས་འདིར་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བྲ་བོ་ཕྱིར་སྡུད་ལེན་བྱས་ན་ངའི་བུ་མོ་ཁྱོད་ལ་སྤྲེར་ཟེར།

这时，天岳父说: “你(去把刚撒完了的那九包)荞麦捡回来，(我就把)我的女儿(嫁)给你。”

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lɛ ʁu ru	n̠a gu mi	da	nu	hĩ	a da	te
lɛ ʁu ru	n̠a gu mi	DAT	you	GEN	father	DP
ལེའུ་རུ	ཉ་གུ་མེ	ལ་དོན	ཁྱོད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཨ་ཕ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
勒物如	亮古米	*与格*	你	*属格*	爸爸	*连词*

(172)

qʰa ta ha	na	n̠i	kẙ	ko	ti	jy	m̩	hĩ[A]	ma	qæ	di
never	we	two	CL	ABS	one	CL	be	PER	NEG	will	say
ནམ་ཡང	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	སྒྲུབ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བཟོ་བ	སྐུལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད
无论何时	我们	两	*量词*	*肯定*	一	*量词*	成	*祈使*	*否定*	会	说

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} said to n̠a^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11}, "Your father will never let we two be one (family)."'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཉ་གུ་མེ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཕས་ངེད་གཉིས་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གཅིག་ནམ་ཡང་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་རྒྱུ་མ་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད།

勒物如对亮古米说: “无论如何, 你的爸爸都不会让我们俩成为一家的。”

[A] *ko*^{11} and *hĩ*^{11} together suggests making somebody do something.

(173)

ȵa gu mi	te	nu	gɛ ræ	m̩	ŋa	rə ga	ɕy
ȵa gu mi	DP	you	real	AVM	I	love	if
ཉ་གུ་མི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	དངོས་ནས	བྱེད་ཚིག	ང	དགའ	གལ་ཏེ
亮古米	*连词*	你	真实	*副标*	我	喜欢	如果

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li	t^{h}a	hũ	ti	ȵi	te	t^{h}ɛ	ha	mɛ k^{h}a	da mi	di
back	NEG	go	one	CL	DP	he	also	at a loss	MP	say
ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	སོང	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ཀྱང་།ཡང	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	ཚིག་སྣེགས	བཤད
回	*否定*	去	一	*量词*	*连词*	他	也	没办法	*语气*	说

'ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} said, "If you really love me, then don't go back, one day he also will be at a loss and (agree)."'

ཉ་གུ་མིས་གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་དངོས་ནས་ང་ལ་དགའ་ན་ཕྱིར་མ་འགྲོ། ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ཁོ་ལ་ཡང་ཐབས་མེད་པར་འགྱུར་ངེས་ཞེས་བཤད།

亮古米说: “如果你真爱我的话就别回去, 有一天, 他也会束手无策的。”

(175)

ȵa gu mi	t^{h}ɛ	da	t^{h}o ʙu	ɴɢʏ̩	la	la	da	ka
ȵa gu mi	he	DAT	sack	nine	CL	take/bring	come	DP
ཉ་གུ་མི	ཁོ	ལ་དོན	ཁུག་མ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	འཁྱེར་བ	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
亮古米	他	*与格*	口袋	九	*量词*	拿	来	*连词*

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ɴɢʏ̩	t^{h}o ʙu	nu	lo	za̰	ɴɢʏ̩	lo mæ	nu	lo	za̰	di
nine	sack	you	GOAL	collect	nine	CL	you	GOAL	collect	say
དགུ	ཁུག་མ	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	ལེན་པ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ལས་ཚིག	ལེན་པ	བཤད
九	口袋	你	*目词*	收	九	*量词*	你	*目词*	收	说

'ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} said to him, "Take nine sacks and say, 'You collect nine sacks, you collect nine fields (of buckwheat seed).''"

ཉ་གུ་མེས་ཁོ་ལ་(ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་)ཕྱུག་མ་དགུ་འཁྱེར་ཤོག དེ་ནས་ཕྱུག་མ་དགུ་པོ་སྡུད་ལེན་བྱོས། ཞིང་དགུ་པོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་སྡུད་ལེན་བྱོས་ཅེས་ཟེར་ཞིག་ཅེས་བཤད།

亮古米给他说: “拿九根口袋来, (放在那九片旱地的底端), 然后说'收你九袋(荞麦), 收你九块地(里的荞麦) 。'”

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lɛ ʁu ru	ȵa gu mi	ʂ̻a	m̩	ka	li	z̻a	pi tsa	ro	te
lɛ ʁu ru	ȵa gu mi	tell	AVM	DP	back	collect	finish	PT	DP
ལེའུ་རུ	ཉ་གུ་མེ	བཤད་པ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ལེན་པ	ཚར	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
勒物如	亮古米	说	*副标*	*连词*	回	收	完	*去时*	*连词*

(178)

ja $q^{h}a$	ly ly	so	ly	li ma lu	ro	di
buckwheat	pellet/seed	three	CL	miss	PT	say
བྲ་བོ	འབྲུ་རྡོག	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མེད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད
荞麦	颗粒	三	*量词*	差	*去时*	说

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} collected (the seed) back as ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} (had) told (him to do) but three buckwheat seed were missing.'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཉ་གུ་མེས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་བསྒྲུབས་ཏེ། བྲ་བོ་ཕྱིར་སྡུད་ལེན་བྱས་སོང་། འོན་ཀྱང་བྲ་བོ་རྡོག་མ་གསུམ་མེད་པར་གྱུར་འདུག

勒物如按亮古米所说的做后就收完了, 但是差了三粒荞麦。

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m̩	ji	a v̩	lɛ ʁu ru	da	ja $q^{h}a$	$t^{h}i$	so	ly	ʂ̻u
sky	GEN	father	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	buckwheat	DET	three	CL	find
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་པོ	ལེའུ་རུ	*ལ་དོན*	བྲ་བོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འཚོལ་བ
天	*属格*	岳父	名字	*与格*	荞麦	*限词*	三	*量词*	找

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li	ma	da	ɕy	ŋa	hĩ	zə mi	nu	ko	ma	qæ	di
back	NEG	come	if	I	GEN	daughter	you	give	NEG	will	say
ཕྱིར་	*དགག་སྒྲ་*	ཡོང་བ་	གལ་ཏེ་	ང་	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ་*	བུ་མོ་	ཁྱོད་	སྟེར་བ་	*དགག་སྒྲ་*	མ་འོངས་པ་	བཤད་
回	*否定*	来	如果	我	*属格*	女儿	你	给	*否定*	要/会	说

'Sky-father-in-law said to lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11], "If you don't find and bring the three buckwheat (seed I) will not give my daughter to you."'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བྲ་བོ་རྡོག་མ་དེ་གསུམ་ཕྱིར་བཙལ་ནས་ཡོང་མ་ཐུབ་ན་ངའི་བུ་མོ་ཁྱོད་ལ་མི་སྟེར་ཞེས་བཤད།

天岳父对勒物如说: “如果找不回来那三粒的话, 我的女儿不会给你的。”

(181)

lɛ ʁu ru	te	qʰa	ja qʰa	ly ly	so	ly	lo	ʂu	li
lɛ ʁu ru	DP	where	buckwheat	pellet/seed	three	CL	GOAL	find	back
ལེའུ་རུ་	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་*	གང་དུ་	བྲ་བོ་	འབྲུ་རྡོག་	གསུམ་	*ཚད་ཚིག་*	*ལས་ཚིག་*	འཚོལ་བ་	ཕྱིར་
勒物如	*连词*	哪儿	荞麦	颗粒	三	*量词*	*目词*	找	回

(182)

bi	ʁæ	ro	di	ka	mɛ kʰa	ro	sə
go	FT	FT	say	DP	at a loss	PT	again
འགྲོ་བ་	*མ་འོངས་པ་*	*མ་འོངས་པ་*	བཤད་	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་*	ཐབས་ཟད་པ་	*འདས་ཚིག་*	ཡང་བསྐྱར་
去	*未时*	*未时*	说	*连词*	没办法	*去时*	又

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] said, "Where will I go to find (and bring) back the three (missing) buckwheat seed?" and was at a loss again.'

ལེའུ་རུ་ཡིས་ང་གང་དུ་བྲ་བོ་རྡོག་མ་གསུམ་འཚོལ་དུ་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་ཅི་བྱ་གཏོལ་མེད་དུ་གྱུར།

勒物如说: “到哪儿去找回三粒荞麦颗粒呀!” 又束手无策了。

(183)

tʰi	tʰʙu	te	n̥a gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	pæ	dʑy	ro	sə
DET	CL	DP	n̥a gu mi	lɛ ʁu ru	side	come	PT	again
རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཉ་གུ་མི	ལེའུ་རུ	འགྲམ་དུ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
限词	*量词*	*连词*	亮古米	勒物如	身边	来	*去时*	又

'At this moment, n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] came to lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]'s side again.'

སྐབས་འདིར། ཉ་གུ་མི་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ལེའུ་རུའི་འགྲམ་དུ་ཡོང་།

这时候, 亮古米又来到了勒物如的身边。

(184)

lɛ ʁu ru	da	ja qʰa	ʐa	tʰʙu	ti ga ga	o	a	mbæ	di
lɛ ʁu ru	DAT	buckwheat	collect	when	anything	there	INT	EXT	say
ལེའུ་རུ	ལ་དོན	བྲ་བོ	སྡུད་པ	སྐབས	འགའ	དེ་ན	འདྲི་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	བཤད
名字	*与格*	荞麦	收	时候	一些	那儿	*疑问*	*存在*	说

'(n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11]) asked lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11], "Was there anything there when (you) were collecting buckwheat (seed)?"'

(ཉ་གུ་མིས་)ལེའུ་རུ་ལ། བྲ་བོ་སྡུད་སྐབས་དེ་ན་(དངོས་པོ་)ཅི་ཞིག་འདུག་ཅེས་དྲིས།

(她)说: “收荞麦的时候, 那儿有什么吗?”

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lɛ ʁu ru	te	tʰo jy	ja	te	o	to	dʑy	lo	di
lɛ ʁu ru	DP	turtledove	CL	DP	there	arrive	come	MP	say
ལེའུ་རུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕུག་རོན	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ཐོན་པ	ཡོང་བ	ཚིག་སྒྲིགས	བཤད
勒物如	*连词*	斑鸠	*量词*	*连词*	那儿	到	来	*语气*	说

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] said, "A turtledove came and arrived there."'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཕུག་རོན་ཞིག་དེར་བསྙེབས་འདུག་ཟེར།

勒物如说: “那儿有一只斑鸠(飞)来过。”

(186)

ȵa rə	tɕʰə tɕʰə	te	li	da	ʁæ	sə	nu	ʁu ʂə	dʑy
tomorrow	morning	DP	back	come	FT	again	you	front	come
སང་ཉིན	ཞོགས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	མ་འོངས་པ	ཡང་བསྐྱར	ཁྱོད	སྔོན་དུ	ཡོང་བ
明天	早上	*连词*	回	来	*未时*	又	你	前面	来

(187)

tʰi	ja	lɛ	ta	qʰa	ma	di
DET	CL	aim	DP	shoot	MP	say
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབེན་དུ་ལེན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱག་པ།འཕེན་པ	ཚིག་སྙེགས	བཤད
限词	*量词*	瞄	*连词*	开/射	*语气*	说

'(ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11]) said, "Tomorrow morning (the turtledoves) will come back again; you aim at the (turtledove) in front and shoot."'

ཉ་གུ་མེས་སང་ཉིན་སྔ་མོར་(ཕུག་རོན་དེ་)ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་རེད། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་སྔོན་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་(ཕུག་རོན་)དེ་དམིགས་འབེན་དུ་བླངས་ནས་མེ་མདའ་འཕངས་ཞེས་བཤད།

(亮古米)说: “明天早上又要(飞)回来, (拿一把枪等候,)你就瞄准(最)前面(飞)来的(那只)开枪。”

(188)

mæ	ti	ʂo	te	lɛ ʁu ru	ȵa tʰʂu	la	ɕə po	ka la	ʁo
next	one	CL	DP	lɛ ʁu ru	gun	OTM	tree	branch	LOC
རྗེས་སུ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེའུ་རུ	གྲུམ་མདའ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	སྡོང་པོ	ཡལ་ག	གནས་གཞི
后来	一	*量词*	*连词*	勒物如	枪	*宾标*	树	枝芽	*位格*

(189)

tʰo jy	tʰi	ja	le	qʏ	te	qʰa	ma	qʏ	ro
turtledove	DET	CL	aim	know	DP	shoot	NEG	know	PT
ཕུག་རོན	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབེན་དུ་ལེན་པ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
斑鸠	*限词*	*量词*	瞄	知道	*连词*	开	*否定*	知道	*去时*

'The next morning, lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} only knew to take the gun, aimed it at the turtledove on the tree branch but didn't not know how to shoot.'

ཕྱི་ཉིན་ཞོགས་པར། ལེའུ་རུས་གྲུམ་མདའ་བཟུང་ནས་སྡོང་པོའི་ཡལ་གའི་སྟེང་གི་ཕུག་རོན་དེ་འབེན་དུ་བླངས་སོང་། འོན་ཀྱང་(ཁོས་)འཕེན་མ་ཤེས།

第二天早上, 勒物如只知道拿枪瞄树枝上的那只斑鸠, 但不知道开枪。

(190)

ȵa gu mi	mɛ kʰa	le	tʰɛ	la ka	tʰi	ŋga	sə ȵi	ræ	qʰa
ȵa gu mi	at a loss	DP	his	hand	GOAL	beat	only after	PRE-ATT	shoot
ཉ་གུ་མི	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁོ	ལག་པ	*ལས་ཚིག*	རྡུང་པ	ད་གཟོད	*འདས་སྔོན*	མེ་མདའ་རྒྱག་པ
亮古米	没办法	*连词*	他	手	*目词*	打	才	*前体*	打

'Then (he) shot (the turtledove but) only after ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} beat his hand.'

ཉ་གུ་མིར་ཐབས་ཟད་ནས་ལེའུ་རུའི་ལག་པར་བརྡུངས་བ་ན་(ཁོས་)ད་གཟོད་(ཕུག་རོན་)དེ་བསད།

亮古米没办法, 后来, (她用手) 碰了一下他的手, (勒物如)才射到 (那只斑鸠)。

(191)

tʰo jy	lo lo	ʁo	ja qʰa	tʰi	so	ly	qo qæ
turtledove	crop	LOC	buckwheat	DET	three	CL	dig
ཕུག་རོན	ཞིང་གཞོག	*གནས་གཞི*	བྲ་བོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	སློག་པ
斑鸠	方位词	*位格*	荞麦	*限词*	三	*量词*	挖

(192)

le	m̥	ji	a y̥	ko	li	ɕy	ro	sə
DP	sky	MP	father-in-law	give	back	went	PT	again
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	*ཚིག་རྒྱན*	གྱོས་པོ	སྟེར་བ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
连词	天	*语气*	岳父	给	回	去	*去时*	又

'(lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]) dug the three buckwheat (seed) from the turtledove's crop and went to Sky-father-in-law and gave (the three buckwheat seed) back to (Sky-father-in-law).'

(ལེའུ་རུས་)ཕུག་རོན་གྱི་ཤོག་གསོག་ལས་བྲ་བོ་འབྲུ་ཏོག་གསུམ་པོ་བླངས་ནས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཕྱིར་སོང་སྟེ་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ལ་བྱིན།

从斑鸠的食袋里挖出那三粒荞麦, 又交给天岳父。

(193)

a ɣ̩	lɛ ʁu ru	da
father-in-law	lɛ ʁu ru	DAT
གྱོས་པོ	ལེའུ་རུ	*ལ་དོན*
岳父	名字	*与格*

(194)

nu	nu	hĩ	a zə	lo	li	ʂ̩u	di
you	you	GEN	mother-in-law	GOAL	back	find	say
ཁྱོད	ཁྱོད	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་མོ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	འཚོལ་བ	བཤད
你	你	*属格*	岳母	*目词*	回	找	说

'Father-in-law said to lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11], "You find your mother-in-law (and bring her) back[A]."'

གྱོས་པོས་ལེའུ་རུ་ལ་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་གྱོས་མོ་བཙལ་ནས་ཕྱིར་འཁྲིད་ཤོག་ཅེས་བཤད།

天岳父对勒物如说: "你把你的岳母找回来。"

(195)

lɛ ʁu ru	go	m̩	hũ	su	ma	sə	ro	sə
lɛ ʁu ru	what	do	should	GEN	NEG	know	PT	again
ལེའུ་རུ	ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད	འོས་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཤེས་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
勒物如	什么	做	应该	*属格*	*否定*	知道	*去时*	又

[A] Sky Father-in-law and Sky Mother-in-law could transform themselves into various animal forms. In this instance, Sky Father-in-law wants lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] to find out which animal they were to gauge his cleverness.

'Again, lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] didn't know what (he) should do.'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཡང་བསྒྲུར་ཅི་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་མ་རྟོགས།

勒物如又不知道该做什么了。

(196)

n̥a gu mi	tʰɛ	da	ta hũ	jo	ʁu ʂə	lo	li	da	tʰi	ja
n̥a gu mi	he	DAT	tonight	sheep	front	GOAL	back	come	DET	CL
ཉ་གུ་མེ	ཁོ	*ལ་དོན*	དོ་དགོང	ལུག	སྔོན་དུ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*
亮古米	他	*与格*	今晚	绵羊	前面	*目词*	回	来	*限词*	*量词*

(197)

ta ræ	tʰi	tɕo ta	ka	a zə	a zə	ŋu	di
neck	LOC	hug	DP	mother-in-law	mother-in-law	say	say
སྐེ	*གནས་གཞི*	འཐམ་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གྱོས་མོ	གྱོས་མོ	བཤད	བཤད
脖子	*位格*	抱住	*连词*	岳母	岳母	说	说

'n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] said to him, "Tonight hug the neck of the sheep that comes in front, and say, 'Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law.'"'

ཉ་གུ་མེས་ཁོ་ལ་དོ་དགོང་(ཚོད་ཀྱིས་)སྔོན་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་ལུག་དེའི་སྐེ་ལ་འཐམ་སྟེ། གྱོས་མོ། གྱོས་མོ་ཞེས་བོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

亮古米对他说: “今晚, 抱住(走)在最前面回来的那只绵羊的脖子就喊'岳母，岳母。'”

(198)

lɛ ʁu ru	n̥i	jo	ʁu ʂə	li	dʑy	tʰi	ja	hĩ	ta ræ
lɛ ʁu ru	ERG	sheep	front	back	come	DET	CL	GEN	neck
ལེའུ་རུ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	ལུག	སྔོན་དུ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	སྐེ
名字	*作格*	绵羊	前面	回	来	*限词*	*量词*	*属格*	脖子

(199)

t^{h}i	tɕo ta	le	a zə	a zə	di	te
GOAL	hug	DP	mother-in-law	mother-in-law	say	DP
ལས་ཚིག	འཐམ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གྱུས་མོ	གྱུས་མོ	བཤད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
目词	抱住	*连词*	婆婆	婆婆	说	*连词*

(200)

a zə	li	ræ	ro
mother-in-law	back	find	PT
གྱུས་མོ	ཕྱིར	རྙེད་པ	འདས་ཚིག
岳母	回	找到	*去时*

'lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} hugged the neck of the sheep that came back in front and said, "Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law," and (he) found Mother-in-law and (brought her) back.'

ལེའུ་རུས་སྔོན་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་ལུག་དེའི་སྐེ་ལ་འཐམས་ཏེ། གྱུས་མོ། གྱུས་མོ་ཞེས་བོས་པ་ན་གྱུས་མོ་ཕྱིར་རྙེད།

(傍晚，牛羊回来时,)勒物如抱住(走)在最前面回来的那只绵羊的脖子, 就喊'岳母, 岳母, '就找回了岳母。

(201)

a ṿ	nu	zə mi	ŋa	ko	a	ʁa	ro	di	te
father-in-law	you	girl	I	give	INT	time to	FT	say/ask	DP
གྱུས་པོ	ཁྱོད	བུ་མོ	ང	སྤྲེར་བ	འདྲི་ཚིག	རན་པ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
岳父	你	女儿	我	给	*疑问*	可以/该	*未时*	说	*连词*

(202)

t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	nu	ŋa	lo	li	ʂ̥u	sə	di
DET	CL	DP	you	I	GOAL	back	find	again	say
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ང	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འཚོལ་བ	ཡང་བསྐྱར	བཤད
限词	*量词*	*连词*	你	我	*目词*	回	找	再	说

'(lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11]) said, "Father-in-law, is it time to give your daughter to me?" and (Father-in-law) said, "You find and (bring) me back again now."'

(ལེའུ་རུས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། གྱོས་པོ་ལགས། ད་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་ང་ལ་བྱིན་ཆོག་གམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། (གྱོས་པོས་)ད་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ཕྱིར་འཚོལ་ཞིག་ཅེས་བཤད།

(勒物如)说: “岳父, 你的女儿可以给我了吗?” (岳父)又说: “现在, 你把我找回来。”

(203)

lɛ ʁu ru	ȵa gu mi	da	ŋa	qʰa	m̩	hũ	ro	di
lɛ ʁu ru	ȵa gu mi	DAT	I	how	do	should	FT	say
ལེའུ་རུ	ཉ་གུ་མེ	*ལ་དོན*	ང	ཅི་འདྲ	བྱེད་པ	འོས་པ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད
勒物如	亮古米	*与格*	我	怎么	做	应该	*未时*	说

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] said to ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11], "What should I do?"'

ལེའུ་རུས་ཉ་གུ་མེ་ལ་ད་ངས་ཅི་བྱས་ན་འོས་ཞེས་དྲིས།

勒物如给亮古米说: “我该怎么办呢?”

(204)

ȵa gu mi	tʰɛ	da	ta hũ	te	ʙu	ʁu ʂə	li	da	tʰi
ȵa gu mi	he	DAT	tonight	DP	yak	front	back	come	DET
ཉ་གུ་མེ	ཁོ	*ལ་དོན*	དོ་དགོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ནོར	སྔོན་དུ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*ངེས་ཚིག*
亮古米	他	*与格*	今晚	*连词*	牦牛	前面	回	来	*限词*

(205)

pʰa	hĩ	ta ræ	tʰi	tɕo ta	ka	a ɣ̩	a ɣ̩	ŋu	di
CL	GEN	neck	GOAL	hug	DP	father-in-law	father-in-law	say	say/tell
ཚད་ཚིག	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	སྐེ	*ལས་ཚིག*	འཐམ་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གྱོས་པོ	གྱོས་པོ	བཤད	བཤད
量词	*属格*	脖子	*目词*	抱住	*连词*	岳父	岳父	说	说

'ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] told him, "Tonight hug the yak that comes back in front and say, 'Father-in-law, Father-in-law.'"

ཉ་གུ་མིས་ཁོ་ལ་དོ་དགོང་སྔོན་དུ་ཡོང་བའི་ནོར་དེའི་སྐེ་ལ་འཐམ་ནས་གྱོས་པོ། གྱོས་པོ་ཞེས་བོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

亮古米对他说: “今晚, 抱住(走)在最前面回来的那头牦牛的脖子, 就喊 '岳父, 岳父。'”

(206)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	ha	lɛ ʁu ru	ȵi	li	ræ	ro
sky	GEN	father-in-law	also	lɛ ʁu ru	ERG	back	find	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ཀྱང་།ཡང	ལེའུ་རུ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཕྱིར	རྙེད་པ	འདས་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	也	勒物如	*作格*	回	找	*去时*

'Sky-father-in-law was also found by lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] and (brought) back.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཡང་ལེའུ་རུས་ཕྱིར་རྙེད་པ་རེད།

天岳父也被勒物如找了回来。

(207)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	t^hi	$t^hʙu$	te	mɛ k^ha	ro	ka
sky	GEN	father-in-law	DET	CL	DP	at a loss	PT	DP
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	没办法	*去时*	*连词*

(208)

nu	hũ	te	ta ȵi	t^hi li ʂ̩ə ʂ̩ə	te	ɛ qo	li	t^ha	da	ro	di
you	go	DP	today	from	DP	home	back	NEG	come	PT	say
ཁྱོད	སོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དེ་རིང	ནས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
你	去	*连词*	今天	从	*连词*	家	回	*否定*	来	*去时*	说

'Sky-father-in-law was at a loss and said, "You go and don't come back home from today."'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ལ་ཐབས་ཟད་དེ་ད་ཁྱོད་སོང་། དེ་རིང་ནས་བཟུང་ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ལ་མ་ཡོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

这时，天岳父束手无策了就(对女儿)说：“你去吧，但是从今以后别回家里来了。”

(209)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	ɕɛ	z̩o	zə	na	va ʁu ræ tsə	o ba	vi
sky	GEN	father-in-law	family	grain	seed	and	livestock	all	divide
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ	འབྲུ་རིགས	ས་བོན	དང	སྒོ་ཕྱུགས	ཚང་མ	བགོ་བ
天	*属格*	岳父	家	粮食	种子	和	牲畜	都	分

(210)

le	pʁu	t^hjo	n̩i	qɣ̩	ko	li	dʑy
DP	send	they	two	CL	give	back	come
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐྱུར་བ	ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	སྟེར་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
连词	赶	他们	二	*量词*	给	回	来

'Sky-father-in-law's family divided all the grain seed and livestock, gave (them to the new couple), sent they two (away) and (they) went back (to the world).'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་གིས་འབྲུ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ས་བོན་དང་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་ཚང་མ་བགོས་ནས་ཁོ་གཉིས་ལ་བྱིན་ཏེ། (ཁོ་གཉིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་)ཕྱིར་ཡོང་དུ་བཅུག

天岳父家把粮食种子和家畜给他俩分了(一份,)就送(他们)回到(人间)来.

(211)

m̩	ji	a zə	t^hjo	n̩i	kɣ̩	da
sky	GEN	mother-in-law	they/them	two	CL	DAT
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་མོ	ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལ་དོན*
天	*属格*	岳母	他们	二	*量词*	*与格*

(212)

rə gʏ̩	ʁo	ɕa mi	ti	qʰʏ̩	ha	ga	ma	ʁa	ma	di
road/way	LOC	song	one	CL	also/even	sing	NEG	can	MP	say
བགྲོད་ལམ	གནས་གཞི	གླུ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང	གླུ་ལེན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཆོག་པ	ཚིག་སྙེགས	བཤད་པ
路途	*位格*	歌	一	*量词*	也	唱	*否定*	能	*语气*	说

'Sky-mother-in-law told the two of them, "(You two) can not sing songs on the way, even one sentence."'

ནམ་མཁའི་སྒྱོས་མོས་ཁོ་གཉིས་ལ་བཤད་རྒྱུར། (ཁྱོད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་)ལམ་བར་དུ་གླུ་དབྱངས་ཚིག་འབྲུ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བླངས་མི་ཆོག་ཟེར།

天岳母给他俩说: “(你俩)在路上, 一句山歌也不能唱。”

(213)

tʰjo	n̥ʑi	kʏ̩	jo jo	va ʙu ræ tsə	tʙy	z̥o	zə	la	le
they	two	CL	together	livestock	drive	grain	seed	take/bring	DP
ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	མཉམ་དུ	སྒོ་ཕྱུགས	འདེད་པ	འབྲུ་རིགས	ས་བོན	འཁྱེར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
他们	二	*量词*	一起	牲畜	赶	粮食	种子	带	*连词*

(214)

a hĩ	dʙy	ʁo	jy	m̩	li	dʑy	ro
below/down	world	LOC	family	make	back	come	PT
འོག	མི་ཡུལ	གནས་གཞི	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	བཟོ་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
下面	人间	*位格*	家庭	做	回	来	*去时*

'They two drove the livestock, took the grain seed, came back down to the world and made a family together.'

ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མཉམ་དུ་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཁྱེར་ཞིང་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་དེད་ནས་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡོང་སྟེ་ཁྱིམ་གཞི་བསྒྲིགས།

他们俩一块儿赶着牲畜, 带着种子, 回到人间来成家(立业)了.

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sə m̩ ja ȵi	ʁæ qæ	mi	li	to	tʰʁu	te
sə m̩ ja ȵi	pass	GOAL	back	arrive	when	DP
སི་མུ་ཡ་ཉེ	ཉག་ག	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	སླེབ་པ	སྐབས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
斯木亚尼	垭口	*目词*	回	到	时候	*连词*

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ȵa gu mi	ma ʂə ʂə	nda	ro	ka	ɕa mi	mi	ga	te
ȵa gu mi	sad	very	PT	DP	song	GOAL	sing	DP
ཉ་གུ་མི	སེམས་སྡུག་པ	ཧ་ཅང	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གླུ	*ལས་ཚིག*	གླུ་ལེན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
亮古米	想家	很	*去时*	*连词*	山歌	*目词*	唱	*连词*

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va ʙu ræ tsə	o ba	bʐi	su	bʐi	pæ	su	pæ	ro
livestock	all	fly	GEN	fly	run	GEN	run	PT
སྒོ་ཕྱུགས	ཚང་མ	འཕུར་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	འཕུར་བ	རྒྱུག་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	རྒྱུག་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
牲畜	都	飞	*属格*	飞	跑	*属格*	跑	*去时*

'ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} was very sad and started to sing songs when (they) arrived back down to sə^{53} m̩^{44} ja^{11} ȵi^{11}[A] Pass and all the livestock ran away.'

མར་སི་མུ་ཡ་ཉེ་ཉག་གར་བསླེབས་དུས་ཉ་གུ་མིའི་སེམས་ཧ་ཅང་སྡུག་ནས་གླུ་བླངས་པས་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་ཚང་མ་འཕུར་ནུས་པ་འཕུར་བ་དང་རྒྱུག་ནུས་པ་བརྒྱུགས་ཏེ་བྲོས་ཚར་སོང་།

回到斯木亚尼山垭口的时候, 亮古米很想家, 唱了几句山歌, 这时所有家畜都飞的飞, 跑的跑了。

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kʰy̩ kʰy̩ tɕʰa	tʂʰa qʰa	mæ	la	mi	li	qo	te	a mi
quickly	skirt	end	OTM	GOAL	back	cover	DP	now
ལམ་སང	སྣོད་གཡོགས	མཐའ	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	གཏུམ་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ད་ལྟ
赶紧	裙子	尾端	*宾标*	*目词*	回	盖	*连词*	现在

[A] sə^{53} m̩^{44} ja^{11} ȵi^{11} is a mountain pass between the sky and the earth.

(219)

na	qo pʰu	tʰi	n̥i ka	ræ	li	qo	su	dja	le
we	raise	DET	some	PRE-ATT	back	cover	GEN	be	MP
ང་ཚོ་	གསོ་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	འགའ་ཞིག	འདས་སྔོན	ཕྱིར	གཏུམ་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རེད	ཚིག་སྟེགས
我们	饲养	*限词*	一些	*前体*	回	盖	*属格*	是	*语气*

'(n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11]) used (her) skirt end and quickly covered (the escaping animals) back down and covered these (animals) we raise now.[A]

(ཉ་གུ་མེས་)ལམ་སང་(མོའི་)སྨད་གཡོགས་ཀྱི་སྣེ་མོས་(སྒོག་ཆགས་རྣམས་)གཏུམས་པ་ན། ད་ལྟ་ང་ཚོས་གསོ་བཞིན་པའི་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་འདི་ཚོ་གཡོགས་པ་རེད།

(她)赶紧用裙摆将(正逃走的家畜)盖住，于是就盖到了现在我们养的这些(家畜)。

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n̥a gu mi	tʰi	tʰʁu	sə n̥i	tʰɛ	hĩ	a mi	ʂa	su	li	ʂu
n̥a gu mi	DET	CL	only after	he	GEN	mother	tell	GEN	back	remember
ཉ་གུ་མེ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ད་གཟོད	མོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཨ་མ	བཤད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཕྱིར	དྲན་པ
亮古米	*限词*	*量词*	才	她	*属格*	妈妈	说	*属格*	回	忆/想起

'n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] remembered (what) her mother had told (her) only after this moment (this happened).'

སྐབས་འདིར། ཉ་གུ་མེས་ད་གཟོད་མོའི་ཨ་མས་བཤད་པ་དག་ཕྱིར་ཡིད་ལ་དྲན།

亮古米这才想起了天岳母说的(话)。

[A] na[53] mʐi[53] believe that the livestock they raise today are descended from those covered by n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] with her skirt and wild animals are descended from those n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11] lost on sə[53] m̥[44] ja[11] n̥i[11] Pass that day.

(221)

tʰi	tʰʙu	te	va ʙu ræ tsə	ræ	li	qo	tʰi ki	tʙy
DET	CL	DP	livestock	PRE-ATT	back	cover	these	drive
རིས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྒོ་ཕྱུགས	འདས་སྔོན	ཕྱིར	གཏུམ་པ	འདི་ཚོ	འདེད་པ
限词	*量词*	*连词*	牲畜	*前体*	回	盖	这些	赶

(222)

le	dʙy ly tsʰo mæ	ɕɛ	ʁo	to	li	dʑy
DP	earth watching man	family	LOC	arrive	back	come
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྷ་སྲུང་མཁན	ཁྱིམ	གནས་གཞི	སླེབ་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
连词	大地看守人	家	*位格*	到	回	来

'At this moment (they) drove back these livestock that they had covered back, came and arrived back to the family of earth watching humans.'[A]

སྐབས་འདིར། (ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཤུལ་དུ་ལུས་ཡོད་པའི་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་དེ་ཚོ་དེད་ནས་ཕྱིར་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྷ་སྲུང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་བསླེབས།

这时候, (他们)赶着刚才盖回来的家畜回到人间看守人家[B]来。

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dʙy	ʁo	to	li	dʑy	n̥u	te	mbo	nda
earth	LOC	arrive	back	come	after	DP	difficult	very
མི་ཡུལ	གནས་གཞི	སླེབ་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁག་པོ	ཧ་ཅང
人间	*位格*	到	回	来	后	*连词*	艰难	很

'It was very difficult after (they) came and arrived back to the earth.'

ཕྱིར་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་(ཁོ་ཚོའི་འཚོ་བ་)ཧ་ཅང་ཁག་པོ་འདུག

回到人间以后, (他俩的生活)很艰艰难。

[A] Humans who lived on the earth are referred to as 'earth watching humans', meaning that when the two returned to earth they watched over human families.

[B] 从前, 居住在地球上的人称为'大地看守人'。

(224)

rə	ʁo	q^hæ bo	ʂ̥a	ma	ga dʑa	ka	ʐ̥o	ma	t^hʙy
field	LOC	ditch	dig[A]	NEG	know	DP	grain/harvest	NEG	good/rich
ས་ཞིང་	གནས་གཞི	ཆུ་རྐ	སློག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུ་རིགས།ལོ་ཏོག	དགག་སྒྲ	ལེགས་པོ
土地	*位格*	水沟	疏通	*否定*	知道	*连词*	庄稼	*否定*	好

'(They) didn't know how to irrigate ditches in the fields and the harvest was not rich.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཞིང་གི་ཆུ་རྐ་སློག་མ་ཤེས་པས་ལོ་ཏོག་ལེགས་པོ་མ་བྱུང་།

不知道在地里开凿水沟, 所以庄稼(长得)不好。

(225)

ʐ̥o	zə	o ba	ts^ha ts^ha	le	ŋgɛ	ka	ʐ̥o	ma	ræ
grain	seed	all	mix	DP	plant	DP	grain/harvest	NEG	get
འབྲུ་རིགས	ས་བོན	ཚང་མ	བསྲེ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདེབས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུ་རིགས	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐོབ་པ
庄稼	种子	都	混合	*连词*	种	*连词*	粮食	*否定*	得

'(They) mixed all the grain seed and planted so (they) didn't get grain.'

(ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་)འབྲུ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ས་བོན་ཚང་མ་བསྲེས་ནས་བཏབ་པས་ལོ་ལེགས་མ་ཐོབ།

(把各种)种子都混着播种, 所以(也) 没有(收) 到粮食。

(226)

jy	m̩	n̥u	te	ʑi zə mi	sə	ma	na	ro
family	make/become	after	DP	children	bear	NEG	would	PT
ཁྱིམ་ཚང	འགྲུབ་པ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྲུ་གུ	སྐྱེས་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག
家庭	做/成	后	*连词*	子女	生	*否定*	能	*去时*

'After making a family (the wife) would not bear children (did not become pregnant).'

(ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་)ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་གྲུབ་རྗེས་(ཆུང་མ་མངལ་མ་ཆགས་པས་)ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱེས་མ་ཐུབ།

成家后, (亮古米)不能生育。

[A] Ditches are dug in fields to carry irrigation water. They also are dug in some fields to collect excess rainwater to prevent certain crops from rotting, e. g., potatoes.

(227)

ji mi	tɕɛ	ma	ga dʑa	ka	ɕə ka	ji mi	ʁo	ndzu
house	build	NEG	know	DP	branch	house	LOC	stay
ཁང་བ	བཟོ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡལ་ག	ཁང་བ	གནས་གཞི	སྡོད་པ
房子	修	*否定*	知道	*连词*	树枝	房子	*位格*	坐

'(They) didn't know house building so stayed in a house of branches.
(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཁང་བ་བཟོ་མ་ཤེས་པས་ཤིང་གི་ཡལ་གའི་ཁང་བའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡད།
不懂得修房子, 就住在树枝房子里。

(228)

m̩	ji	a v̩	ɕɛ	ha	mi do	li	bi	ma	ŋa
sky	GEN	father-in-law	family	also	ask	back	go	NEG	dare
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཀྱང་།ཡང	འདྲི་བ	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཕོད་པ
天	*属格*	岳父	家	也	问	回	去	*否定*	敢

'(They) also didn't dare to go back to ask Sky-father-in-law's family (for help).'
(ཁོ་ཚོ་)ཕྱིར་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་དུ་ཡང་བློ་འདྲི་བར་འགྲོ་མ་ཕོད།
也不敢回到天岳父家去问 (到底该怎么办) 。

(229)

mæ	te	la qo	jo	mba	ŋu	t^hjo	ɛ qo	to	dʑy
later	DP	crow	SELF	able	say	they	home	arrive	come
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྭ་ཏ	རང་ཉིད	ཐུབ་པ	ཟེར་བ	ཁོ་ཚོ	ཁྱིམ	སླེབ་པ	ཡོང་བ
后来	*连词*	乌鸦	它	能	说	他们	家	到	来

'Later Crow arrived at their home and said (it was) able (to go to Sky-father-in-law's home).'
དེ་ནས་རྗེས་སུ་ཁྭ་ཏ་ཁོ་ཚོའི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་བསླེབས་ནས་(ཁོ་རང་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་དུ་འགྲོ་)ཐུབ་ཅེས་བཤད།
后来, 乌鸦说它能(帮忙)就来到他们家。

(230)

t^{h}jo	t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	la qo	da	lo	ʁa to
they	DET	moment	DP	crow	DAT	GOAL	ask for help
ཁོ་ཚོ	རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྭ་ཏ	ལ་དོན	ལས་ཚིག	རོགས་བྱེད་པའི་རེ་བ་ཞུ
他们	*限词*	时候	*连词*	乌鸦	*与格*	*目词*	求助

'At this moment, they asked for Crow's help.'
སྐབས་འདིར། ཁོ་ཚོས་ཁྭ་ཏ་ལ་རོགས་བྱེད་པའི་རེ་བ་ཞུ།
这时，他们向乌鸦求助。

(231)

mɛ ʙu	ɴɢʏ̩	bʐə̩	k^{h}ʏ̩	le	la qo	t^{h}i	ja	ko
tear	nine	CL	get	DP	crow	DET	CL	give
མིག་ཆུ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	འདོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྭ་ཏ	རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྟེར་བ
泪水	九	*量词*	接	*连词*	乌鸦	*限词*	*量词*	给

'They took nine cups of tears and gave (them) to Crow.'
(ཁོ་ཚོས་)མིག་ཆུ་ཕོར་བ་བཏོན་ནས་དགུ་ཁྭ་ཏ་ལ་བྱིན།
(他俩) 接了九杯 (自己哭泣的) 泪水, 交给了那只乌鸦。

(232)

rə gʏ̩	ti	te	ʁo	to	te	tɕ^{h}ə	nda	ka	mɛ ʙu
road/way	one	CL	LOC	arrive	DP	hot	very	DP	tear
བགྲོད་ལམ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	གནས་གཞི	སླེབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚ་བ	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མིག་ཆུ
路	一	*量词*	*位格*	到	*连词*	热	很	*连词*	泪水

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t^{h}i ki	o ba	t^{h}ɛ	ɳ̥i	ndʐə̩	pi tsa	ro
these	all	it	ERG	drink	finish	PT
འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	དེ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཐུང་བ	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག
这些	都	它	*作格*	喝	完	*去时*

'(Crow) arrived half-way, and was very hot so it drank and finished all the tears.'

ལམ་བར་དུ་བསླེབས་དུས་(ཁྭ་ཏ་)ཚ་བས་མནར་ནས་མིག་ཆུ་ཚང་མ་འཐུངས།

(乌鸦飞)到半路上热得把那些泪水都喝光了。

(234)

m̩	to	n̥u	te	nɛ	zə mi	ɕɛ	te	su qæ	le
sky	reach	after	DP	your	daughter	family	DP	rich	DP
ནམ་མཁའ	སླེབ་པ	རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱུག་པོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
天	到	后	*连词*	你们的	女儿	家	*连词*	富裕	*连词*

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m̩	ma	ndo	su qæ	le	dʁy	ma	ndo	ro	di
sky	NEG	see	rich	DP	earth	NEG	see	PT	say
ནམ་མཁའ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	མཐོང་བ	ཕྱུག་པོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ས་ཡུལ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	མཐོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཟེར
天	*否定*	见	富裕	*连词*	地球	*否定*	见	*去时*	说

'After reaching the sky (Crow) said, "Your daughter's family is rich and cannot see the sky and cannot see the earth[A] (the family is extremely rich)."'

ནམ་མཁར་བསླེབས་རྗེས། (ཁྭ་ཏས་)ཁྱོད་ཚོའི་བུ་མོ་ཚང་ནི་ཧ་ཅང་ཕྱུག་པོ་འདུག་པས་གནམ་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱང་མི་མཐོང་(ཧ་ཅང་ཕྱུག་པོ་ཡིན་པ)ཞེས་བཤད།

到了天上后说: “你们的女儿家很富裕。”

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a y̩	a zə	n̥i	ky̩	m̩	n̥i mi xi	nda
father-in-law	mother-in-law	two	CL	AVM	happy	very
སྒྱུས་པོ	སྒྱུས་མོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	དགའ་བ	ཧ་ཅང
岳母	岳父	二	*量词*	*副标*	心欢	很

[A] *m̩*^{53} *ma*^{44} *ndo*^{53} *dʁy*^{44} *ma*^{44} *ndo*^{53} = 'extraordinary', 'tremendous'.

'Both Father-in-law and Mother-in-law were very happy (about their daughter's wealth).'

གྱོས་པོ་དང་གྱོས་མོ་གཉིས་ཧ་ཅང་དགའ་བྱུང་།

岳父岳母俩(听了)都很高兴。

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la qo	tʰi	tʰʁu	te	nɛ	zə mi	ɕɛ	va ʂ̩ə	te	la
crow	DET	CL	DP	your	daughter	family	pork	DP	OTM
ཁྭ་ཏ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད་ཀྱི	བུ་མོ	ཁྱིམ	ཕག་ཤ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*
乌鸦	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	你们的	女儿	家	猪肉	*连词*	*宾标*

(238)

ɕə	m̩	tɕʰə	z̩o	te	la	kʰʂ̩ə	sə	di
wood	make	make	grain	DP	OTM	shit	clean	say
འབུད་ཤིང	བྱེད་པ	མེ་གཏོང་བ	འབྲུ་རིགས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	སྐྱག་པ	གཙང་སྦྲ་བྱེད་པ	ཟེར
柴火	当	烧	粮食	*连词*	*宾标*	大便	擦	说

'At this moment, Crow said, "Your daughter's family uses pork as wood to make a fire and uses grain to clean shit."'

སྐབས་འདིར། ཁྭ་ཏས་ཁྱོད་ཚོའི་བུ་མོའི་ཚང་གིས་ཕག་ཤ་འབུད་ཤིང་དུ་བཀོལ་བ་དང་། སྐྱག་པ་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཀྱིས་གཙང་སྦྲ་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད་ཅེས་བཤད།

这时, 乌鸦(接着)说: “你们的女儿家呀, 把猪肉当柴火烧, 拿粮食擦屁股呢。”

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m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	ti	tʰʁu	m̩	qo tɕʰə	le	la qo	tʰɛ	n̩i
sky	GEN	father	one	CL	AVM	angry	DP	crow	he	ERG
ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་པོ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ཁྲོས་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྭ་ཏ	ཁོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*
天	*属格*	岳父	一	*量词*	*副标*	生气	*连词*	乌鸦	他	*作格*

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pi pa	mi ŋga	ka	ɣu	va	so	dzu	tɕʰə tɕʰə
drive	SUF-COM	DP	tiger	boar	three	CL	release/send
ཕྱིར་སྐྲོད་པ	*འདས་རྗེས*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྟག	ཕག་རྒོད	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གཏོང་བ
赶	*后体*	*连词*	老虎	野猪	三	*量词*	放

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o	mi	tɕʰə
LOC	GOAL	SUF-COM
གནས་གཞི	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*
位格	*目词*	*后体*

'Sky-father-in-law was angry suddenly, and drove away the crow[A] and sent three groups of tigers and (three groups of) wild boars down (to the earth).'
ནམ་མཁའི་གྲོགས་པོ་དེ་མ་ཐག་ཁྲོས་ཏེ། ཁྭ་ཏ་མཐར་བསྐྲད་པ་དང་། སྟག་དང་ཕག་རྒོད་ཁྱུ་གསུམ་མར་(མི་ཡུལ་དུ་)མངགས།
天岳父一下子大发雷霆, 赶掉乌鸦，往(人间)放了三群老虎和三群野猪。

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dʁy ly tsʰo mæ	ɕɛ	zo̜	ʁu ʂ̥ə	o	ndʑ̥ɛ	tʰi	n̥i ka	ha
earth watching man	family	grain	front	there	EXT	DET	little	also
འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྟ་སྲུང་མཁན	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ལོ་ཏོག	སྔར	དེ་ན	ཡོད་པ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	ཉུང་ཙམ	ཀྱང
大地看守人	家	庄稼	以前	那儿	有	*限词*	一点儿	也

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ɣu	va	n̥i	zo qə	pi tsa	ro	sə
tigers	wild boar	ERG	destroy	finish	PT	again
སྟག	ཕག་རྒོད	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	མེད་བརླག་ཏུ་གཏོང་བ	ཚར་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
老虎	野猪	*作格*	糟蹋	完	*去时*	又

[A] Thus, black crows became an evil portent.

'Earth-watching Man's family's few grains there were also destroyed by tigers and wild boars again.'
འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྟ་སྲུང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་སྟར་ཡོད་པའི་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཉུང་ཙམ་དག་ཀྱང་སྟག་དང་ཕག་རྒོད་ཀྱིས་མེད་བརླག་ཏུ་བཏང་།
在（地里）的大地看守人家的那点儿(庄稼)也被野猪和老虎糟蹋完了。

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lɛ ʁu ru	na	ȵa gu mi	te	ʁu mdʙy	da	ga dʑa	ro
lɛ ʁu ru	and	ȵa gu mi	DP	cry	only	know	PT
ལེའུ་རུ	དང	ཉ་གུ་མེ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ངུ་བ	ཁོ་ན	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
勒物如	和	亮古米	*连词*	哭泣	只	知道	*去时*

'lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] and ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11] only knew to cry (after the grain was destroyed).'
ལེའུ་རུ་དང་ཉ་གུ་མེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ངུ་རྒྱུ་ལས་གཞན་མ་ཤེས།
勒物如和亮古米只知道哭泣。

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ti	ȵi	te	bi la ȵo tsə	ti	ja	o	to	dʑy
one	CL	DP	bat	one	CL	there	arrive	come
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕ་ཝང	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དེ་ན	སླེབ་པ	ཡོང་བ
一	*量词*	*连词*	蝙蝠	一	*量词*	那儿	到	来

'One day, one bat arrived there (at lɛ[11] ʁu[44] ru[11] and ȵa[11] gu[44] mi[11]'s home).'
ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ཕ་ཝང་ཞིག་(ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་)བསླེབས།
一天, 一只蝙蝠飞来。

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bi la ȵo tsə	tʰi	ja	tʰɛ tʰɛ	ndzə do	pa	pʰa	ji
bat	DET	CL	SELF	message	carry	can	say
ཕ་ཝང	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	འཕྲིན། བརྡ	འཁྱེར་བ	ཐུབ་པ	ཟེར
蝙蝠	*限词*	*量词*	自己	口信	带	能	说

'The bat itself said it could carry a message.'

ཕ་ཝང་དེས་ཁོས་བརྡ་འདི་འཁྱེར་ཐུབ་ཅེས་བཤད།

蝙蝠说: “我能带口信(给你们的双亲) 。”

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jo	mɛ ʁu	NGY̩	ndʐa	na na	n̩u	ji	ka	mɛ ʁu
SELF	tear	nine	CL	only	need	say	DP	tear
རང་ཉིད	མིག་ཆུ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཁོ་ན	དགོས་པ	ཟེར	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མིག་ཆུ
自己	泪水	九	*量词*	只	需要	说	*连词*	泪水

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NGY̩	ndʐa	la	le	m̩	ji	a y̩	ɕɛ	ɕy	ro
nine	CL	take/bring	DP	sky	GEN	father-in-law	home	went	PT
དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འཁྱེར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
九	*量词*	拿/带	*连词*	天	*属格*	岳父	家	去	*去时*

'It said it only needed nine drops of tears so it took nine drops of tears and went to Sky-father-in-law's home.'

ཁོ་(རང་)ལ་མིག་ཆུ་ཐིགས་པ་དགུ་ཁོ་ན་མ་གཏོགས་མི་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས་མིག་ཆུའི་ཐིགས་པ་དགུ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་ལ་ཕྱིན།

它说: “我只需要九滴泪水,” 带九滴泪水到天岳父家去。

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bi la n̩o tsə	t^hi	ja	te	mɛ ʁu	t^hi	NGY̩	ndʐa	la
bat	DET	CL	DP	tear	DET	nine	CL	take/bring
ཕ་ཝང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མིག་ཆུ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འཁྱེར་བ
蝙蝠	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	泪水	*限词*	九	*量词*	拿

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m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	na	a zə	n̥i	kɣ̩
sky	GEN	father-in-law	and	mother-in-law	two	CL
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	དང	གྱོས་མོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	和	岳母	二	*量词*

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lo	ko	ka	ʂ̩o	ro
GOAL	give	DP	tell	PT
ལས་ཚིག	སྦྱོར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བཤད	འདས་ཚིག
目词	给	*连词*	说	*去时*

'The bat took the nine teardrops and gave (them) to Sky-father-in-law and Mother-in-law, and told (them what had happened down on earth).'

ཕ་ཝང་དེས་མིག་ཆུ་ཐིགས་པ་དགུ་པོ་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་དང་གྱོས་མོར་བྱིན་པ་དང་(གནས་ཚུལ་དངོས་)བཤད།

蝙蝠(来到天上)就把这九滴泪水交给天岳父和岳母, 并讲述了(他们的女儿在人间的生活) 。

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bi la n̥o tsə	t^hi	ja	ʂ̩a	pi tsa	ro	te
bat	DET	CL	tell	finish	PT	DP
ཕ་ཝང	དེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བཤད	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
蝙蝠	*限词*	*量词*	说	完	*去时*	*连词*

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m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	a zə	n̥i	kɣ̩
sky	GEN	father-in-law	mother-in-law	two	CL
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	གྱོས་མོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	岳母	二	*量词*

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go	m̩	hũ	su	ʂ̩a	ma	na
what	do	should	GEN	tell	NEG	would
ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད་པ	འོས་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	བཤད	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ
什么/怎么	做/办	应该	*属格*	说	*否定*	愿意

'The bat finished telling, but the two, Sky-father-in-law and Mother-law, would not tell (them) what (they) should do.'

ཕ་ཝང་དེས་བཤད་ཚར་སོང་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་དང་གྱོས་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཅི་བྱེད་འོས་པ་བཤད་མ་འདོད།

蝙蝠说完了, 但是天岳父和岳母俩都不肯说该怎么办。

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hũ ɴɢʏ̩	jy	tʰʙu	te	bi la n̥o tsə	jo	te	dʑa kʰʏ̩	jy	qʏ̩ rə	ji
night	sleep	when	DP	bat	SELF	DP	outside	sleep	usually	say
མཚན་མོ	གཉིད་པ	སྐབས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕ་ཝང	རང་ཉིད	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱི་རོལ	གཉིད་པ	རྒྱུན་པར	ཟེར
晚上	睡觉	时候	*连词*	蝙蝠	自己	*连词*	外面	睡	经常	说

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ka	dʑa kʰʏ̩	ndo	tʰi	la	ʁo	tɕo ljo ljo
DP	outside	spear	DET	CL	LOC	hang
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱི་རོལ	མདུང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*གནས་གཞི*	ཐུར་དུ་དཔྱངས་པ
连词	外面	*矛*	*限词*	*量词*	*位格*	掉

'When it was time to sleep at night, the bat said "I usually sleep outside," and hung on the spear outside.'

མཚན་མོར་གཉིད་དུས། ཕ་ཝང་གིས་རང་ཉིད་རྒྱུན་པར་ཕྱི་རོལ་དུ་ཉལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་མདུང་དེའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཐུར་དུ་དཔྱངས་ཏེ་(གཉིད)།

晚上睡觉的时候, 蝙蝠说: “我经常睡在外面,” 掉在外面(院子里)的那根矛(杆上栖息) 。

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hũ qʰy̩	te	m̩	ji	a zə	te
midnight	DP	sky	GEN	mother-in-law	DP
མཚན་གུང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
深夜	*连词*	天	*属格*	岳母	*连词*

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zə mi	la da	ʂ̩o	ro
daughter	about	talk	PT
བུ་མོ	གང་ཞིག་གི་སྐོར	ཁ་བརྡ་བྱེད་པ	འདས་ཚིག
女儿	关于	谈	*去时*

'At midnight, Sky-mother-in-law talked about (her) daughter (n̥a[11] gu[44] mi[11]).'

མཚན་གུང་དུ། ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་མོས་རང་གི་བུ་མོའི་སྐོར་ཁ་བརྡ་བྱས།

深夜时, 天岳母开始唠叨关于女儿(的遭遇) 。

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hũ	ʑ̥i zə mi	sə	ma	na	te	qa	ʁo
MP	children	bear	NEG	would	DP	hearth	LOC
ཚིག་རྫོགས	ཕྲུག་གུ	མངལ་སྐྱུམ་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐབ་ཀ	གནས་གཞི
语气	孩子	生育	*否定*	能	*连词*	灶	*位格*

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qa lu	so	ly	tɕ̥ɛ	ma	ga dʑ̥a	xo dʑ̥o
qa lu	three	CL	build/place	NEG	know	RQ
ཐབ་རྡོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	འཛུགས་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདྲི་ཚིག
呷鲁	三	*量词*	立	*否定*	知道	*反问*

(Mother-in-law said), "Don't they know to place three *qa[11] lu[44]* (stones) on the hearth if children are not born?"'

(ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་མོས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) མོ་ལ་མངའ་སྐྱུམ་མ་ཐུབ་ན་ཐབ་ཀའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཐབ་རྡོ་གསུམ་འཛུགས་རྒྱུ་མི་ཤེས་སམ་ཟེར།

“不能生儿育女的话, 不知道在灶边立三个呷鲁(灶边立起的石头)嘛!”

(261)

ji mi	tɕɛ	ma	ga dʑa	te	ʑɛ ʁu	t^{h}ʁu	le	tɕɛ	ma	ga dʑa	xo dʑo
house	build	NEG	know	DP	pillar	prop	DP	build	NEG	know	RQ
ཁང་བ	བཟོ་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཤེས་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཀ་བ	འདེགས་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བཟོ་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཤེས་པ	*འདྲི་ཚིག*
房子	修	*否定*	知道	*连词*	柱子	撑	*连词*	修	*否定*	知道	*反问*

(Mother-in-law continued), "'Don't they know to prop pillars and build if (they) don't know house building?'"

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཁང་བ་བཟོ་མི་ཤེས་ན་ཀ་བ་འདེགས་དགོས་པའང་མི་ཤེས་སམ་(ཞེས་མོས་སྨྱུ་མཐུད་དུ་བཤད།)

“不会修房子的话, 不知道立柱子来修嘛!”

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ʐo	ma	t^{h}ʁy	te	rə	q^{h}æ bo	ʂa	ma	ga dʑa	xo dʑo	ŋu
grain/harvest	NEG	rich	DP	field	ditch	dig	NET	know	RQ	say
ལོ་ཏོག	*དགག་སྒྲ*	བཟང་པོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ས་ཞིང	ཆུ་ཀ	སློག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	*འདྲི་ཚིག*	ཟེར
庄稼	*否定*	好	*连词*	土地	水沟	疏通	不	知道	*反问*	说

(Mother-in-law continued), "Don't they know (how to) dig irrigation ditches in the fields if the harvest is not rich?'"

ལོ་ཏོག་བཟང་པོ་མེད་ཚེ་ཞིང་ཆུ་ཀ་གསར་བ་སློག་རྒྱུར་མི་ཤེས་སམ་(ཞེས་མོས་དེ་ལྟར་སྨྲས)།

“庄稼不好的话, 不知道在地里疏通水沟嘛!”

(263)

ʂo	pi tsa	sə ȵi	bi la ȵo tsə	t^{h}i	ja	qæ	k^{h}a rə	vo ta[A]
tell/talk	finish	only after	bat	DET	CL	bed	beside	hide/perch
བཤད	ཚར་བ	ད་གཟོད	ཕ་ཝང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཉལ་ཁྲི	འགྲམ་དུ	སྦ་བ
说	完	才	蝙蝠	*限词*	*量词*	床	旁边	趴

[A] *vo*^{44} *ta*^{53} is a verb for the existence of avian animals.

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le	ba hɛ	su	ræ	li	ndo
DP	listen	GEN	PRE-ATT	back	see
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཉན་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	འདས་སྔོན	ཕྱིར	མཐོང་བ
连词	听	*属格*	*前体*	回	见/发现

'The bat hid beside the bed and listened and got seen (by them) only after (Sky Mother-in-law) finished talking.'

(ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་མོས་)བཤད་ཚར་རྗེས། ཕ་ཝང་དེ་ཉལ་ཁྲི་འགྲམ་དུ་སྦས་ནས་ལྐོག་ཉན་བྱེད་བཞིན་པ་(མོས་)ད་གཟོད་མཐོང་བྱུང་།

(天岳母) 说完后才发现那只蝙蝠趴在床边 (偷) 听。

(265)

m̥	ji	a ɣ̩	n̥i	tʂ̥o qæ ʑi	la	mæ	mi	tɕʰə	te
sky	GEN	father-in-law	ERG	pestle	OTM	after	GOAL	throw	DP
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	གཏུན་ཤིང	ཡུལ་ཚིག	རྗེས་སུ	ལས་ཚིག	འཕངས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	*作格*	石杵	*宾标*	后	*目词*	扔	*连词*

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bi la n̥o tsə	hĩ	n̥a ŋga	tʂ̥o qæ ʑi	n̥i	tʙy	le	ka pɛ pɛ[A]	ro
bat	GEN	nose	pestle	ERG	beat	DP	flat	PT
ཕ་ཝང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྣ་བ	གཏུན་ཤིང	བྱེད་སྒྲ	རྡུང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལེབ་མོ	འདས་ཚིག
蝙蝠	*属格*	鼻子	石杵	*作格*	打	*连词*	扁	*去时*

'Sky Father-in-law took the pestle, threw it down after the bat and beat its nose flat.'

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོས་གཏུན་ཤིང་(ཕ་ཝང་)རྗེས་སུ་འཕངས་པས། ཕ་ཝང་གི་སྣ་བར་ཕོག་ནས་དེ་ལེབ་མོར་བཏང་།

天岳父抓起石杵, 扔向(蝙蝠)背后,于是蝙蝠的鼻子被石杵打扁了。

[A] The bat's nose is flat because it was beaten by Sky Father-in-law.

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bi la ȵo tsə	tʰi	tʰʙu	te	a ɣ̩	ɕɛ	do	tsa	so	qʰɣ̩
bat	DET	CL	DP	father-in-law	family	message	bad	three	CL
ཕ་ཝང	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	འཕྲིན། བརྡ	ངན་པ	གསུམ་པ	ཚད་ཚིག
蝙蝠	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	岳父	家	信息	坏	三	*量词*

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a	dʑo	sə	do	mɚ	so	qʰɣ̩	a	dʑo	sə
INT	EXT	still	message	good	three	CL	INT	EXT	still
འདྲི་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	ད་རུང	འཕྲིན། བརྡ	བཟང་བ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	འདྲི་ཚིག	ཡོད་པ	ད་རུང
疑问	*存在*	还	信息	好	三	*量词*	*疑问*	有	还

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di	te	ma	dʑo	ro	di	ka	li	dʑy
say	DP	NEG	EXT	PT	say	DP	back	come
ཟེར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	འདས་ཚིག	ཟེར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
说	*连词*	*否定*	*存在*	*去时*	说	*连词*	回	来

'At this moment, Bat asked if Sky-Father-in-law's family still had three bad messages or three good messages (in addition to what Bat had already heard) but (they) said, "(We do) not have," so (Bat) came back.'

སྐབས་འདིར། ཕ་ཝང་གིས་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་ལ་ད་རུང་འཕྲིན་ངན་གསུམ་ཡོད་དམ་འཕྲིན་བཟང་གསུམ་ཡོད་ཅེས་དྲིས་པར། ལན་དུ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་ཟེར་བས་(ཕ་ཝང་དེ་)ཕྱིར་ལོག

蝙蝠这时问道: “天岳父家，还有好消息(可带给女儿家吗)？" (岳父家回答)说: “没有了,” (蝙蝠飞)了回来。

(270)

bi la ȵo tsə	ȵi	do	mɚ	pa	li	dʑy	sə ȵi
bat	ERG	message	good	carry/bring	back	come	only after
ཕ་ཝང	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཕྲིན། བརྡ	བཟང་བ	འཁྱེར་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང	རྗེས་སུ
蝙蝠	*作格*	信息	好	带	回	来	才

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dʁy ly tsʰo mæ	ɕɛ	ha da	tɕʰə ta
earth watching man	family	here	from
འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྟ་སྲུང་མཁན	ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུད	འདི་ན	གནས
大地看守人	家	这儿	从

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lo	bʐə	li	dʑy	su	dja	le
GOAL	propagate	back	come	GEN	BE	MP
ལས་ཚིག	སྐྱེ་འཕེལ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
目词	繁衍	回	来	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'Earth-watching Man's family propagated up from here only after Bat brought three good messages (what Bat had overheard) back.'

ཕ་ཝང་གིས་འཕྲིན་བཟང་ཕྱིར་ཁྱེར་ཡོང་རྗེས། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྟ་སྲུང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུད་ད་བཟོད་འདི་ནས་སྐྱེ་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་རེད།

蝙蝠把(那偷听来的)好消息带回来后大地看守人家才从此(开始)繁衍起来的。

FAMILY CLAN

mbzə̧^{44} m̩^{55}

(1)

ta hũ	ʂ̩o	tʰi ki	te	m̩	ji	ȵa gu mi	na	tsʰo	ʑ̩i	lɛ ʁu ru
tonight	tell	these	DP	sky	GEN	ȵa gu mi	and	human	son	lɛ ʁu ru
དོ་ནུབ	བཤད	འདི་ཚོ	*སྦྱོར་ཚིག*	ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཉ་གུ་མེ	དང	མི	བུ	ལེའུ་རུ
今晚	说	这些	*连词*	天	*属格*	亮古米	和	人	子	勒物如

'These, (that I am) telling tonight, are (about) Sky-ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} and Human-son lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}.'

(ངའི་)དོ་ནུབ་བཤད་པ་འདི་ཚོ་ནི་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉ་གུ་མེ་དང་མིའི་བུ་ལེའུ་རུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་(སྐོར་)ཡིན།

今晚说的这些是(关于)天女亮古米和凡人勒物如(俩的故事)。

(2)

ʑ̩i	ɴɢʏ̩	ja	na	zə mi	ʂ̩ə	ja	su	te
son	nine	CL	and	daughter	seven	CL	GEN	DP
བུ	དགུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	དང	བུ་མོ	བདུན	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*སྦྱོར་ཚིག*
子	九	*量词*	和	女儿	七	*量词*	*属格*	*连词*

(3)

tsʰo	ʑ̩i	lɛ ʁu ru	na	m̩	ji	ȵa gu mi	hĩ	ʑ̩i zə mi	dja
human	son	lɛ ʁu ru	and	sky	GEN	ȵa gu mi	GEN	children	be
མི	བུ	ལེའུ་རུ	དང	ནམ་མཁའ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཉ་གུ་མེ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	བྱིས་པ	རེད
人	子	勒物如	和	天	*属格*	亮古米	*属格*	孩子	是

'Nine sons and seven daughters were Human-son lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11} and Sky-ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11}'s children.'

བུ་དགུ་དང་བུ་མོ་བདུན་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉ་གུ་མེ་དང་མིའི་བུ་ལེའུ་རུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་པ་རེད།

九个儿子和七个女儿是天女亮古米和凡人勒物(婚后生下)的孩子。

(4)

te	ʑi	NGY̩	ja	NGY̩	fu	tʰʁu
DP	son	nine	CL	nine	CL	become
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	འགྱུར་བ
连词	儿子	九	*量词*	九	*量词*	成为

(5)

mi	ʂə	ja	ʂə	fu	dʁu
girl	seven	CL	seven	family	become
བུ་མོ	བདུན	ཚད་ཚིག	བདུན	ཚད་ཚིག	འགྱུར་བ
女儿	七	*量词*	七	量词	成为

'Then nine sons became nine families and seven girls became seven families.'

དེ་ནས་བུ་དགུ་པོ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་དགུ་རུ་གྱུར་པ་དང་བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོ་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་བདུན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་རེད།

于是, 九个儿子(结婚后)成了九家人, 七个女儿(也)成为七家人了。

(6)

ʑi	tʰi	NGY̩	ja	te	ɕo to	ma	kʰi	ka
son	DET	nine	CL	DP	filial piety	NEG	good	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	དགུ	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྲི་ཞུ	དགག་སྒྲ	བཟང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	九	*量词*	*连词*	孝道	*否定*	好	*连词*

(7)

m̩	ji	a y̩	ɕɛ	qo tɕʰə
sky	GEN	father-in-law	family	angry
གནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལངས་བ
天	*属格*	岳父	家庭	生气

'The nine sons' filial piety was not good, so Sky-father-in-law's family was angry.'

བུ་དགུ་པོས་སྲི་ཞུ་(བསྒྲུབས་པ་)མི་བཟང་བས་གནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་གི་ཐུགས་ཁྲོས།

(儿女成家后) 那九个儿子不孝顺, 所以天岳父家生气。

(8)

m̩	ji	a ɣ̩	ɕɛ	qo tɕ^{h}ə	nda	ka	xo ʂ̩e tʂ̩^{h}o t^{h}je	ro
sky	GEN	father-in-law	family	angry	very	DP	flood	PT
ནམ་མཁའ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	གྱོས་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཁོངས་ཁྲོ་ལངས་པ	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤུ་འོད	འདས་ཚིག
天	*属格*	岳父	家庭	生气	很	*连词*	洪水朝天	*去时*

'Sky-father-in-law's family was very angry so floods came.'[A]

ནམ་མཁའི་གྱོས་པོ་ཚང་ཁོངས་ཁྲོ་ལངས་པས་ཤུ་འོད་རྒྱུག་ཏུ་བཅུག།

天岳父家很生气就发洪水朝天了。

(9)

dʁy va	o ba	te	qæ pæ	le	su	o ba	tʂ̩a	p^{h}ʂ̩ə
earth	all	DP	crack	DP	man	all	lineage	become extinct
སའི་གོ་ལ	ཡོངས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འགས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མི	ཚང་མ	རྒྱུད་པ	རྩ་མེད་དུ་འགྱུར་བ
地球/大地	全部	*连词*	裂开	*连词*	人	全部	人种/人类	断/灭绝

'All the earth cracked and all people's lineages became extinct.'

སའི་གོ་ལ་ཡོངས་སུ་གས་སོང་ལ་མིའི་རྒྱུད་པ་རྩ་བ་ནས་མེད་པར་གྱུར།

大地到处崩裂, 人类(也)从此全部灭绝。

(10)

te	ɳ̊a gu mi	na	ts^{h}o	ʑi	lɛ ʁu ru	hĩ
DP	ɳ̊a gu mi	and	human	son	lɛ ʁu ru	GEN
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཉ་གུ་མེ	དང	མི	བུ	ལེའུ་རུ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
连词	亮古米	和	人	儿子	勒物如	*属格*

[A] Sky Father-in-law's family is very powerful and can create such disasters as floods and droughts if they are unhappy.

(11)

ʑi zə mi	ȵi	ja	na na	li ndʑə
children	two	CL	only	left
བྱིས་པ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	ལུས་པ
子女/孩子	二	*量词*	只/仅	剩

'Then only two, Sky-ȵa^{11} gu^{44} mi^{11} and Human-son lɛ^{11} ʁu^{44} ru^{11}'s children, were left.'

དེ་ནས་ནམ་མཁའི་ཉ་གུ་མེ་དང་མིའི་བུ་ལེའུ་རུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་པ་གཉིས་ཁོ་ན་ཞུལ་དུ་ལུས་སོང་།

只剩下天女亮古米和凡人勒物如的两个孩子。

(12)

ʑi	a ȵo	tʰi	ja	na
son	youngest	DET	CL	and
བུ	ཆེས་གཞོན་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དང
儿子	幺	*限词*	*量词*	和

(13)

mi	a ȵo	tʰi	ȵi	ja	na na	li ndʑə
daughter	youngest	DET	two	CL	only	left
བུ་མོ	ཆེས་གཞོན་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	ལུས་པ
女儿	幺	*限词*	二	*量词*	只	剩下

'Only the youngest son and the youngest daughter were left.'

ཆེས་གཞོན་པའི་བུ་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཁོ་ན་ལུས་སོང་།

只剩下他们的幺儿子和幺女儿。

(14)

na	ȵi	ky̩	ti	jy	li	m̩	ŋu	ȵi ji mo	te
we	two	CL	one	family	back	make	say	sister	DP
ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	བཟོ་བ	ཟེར	སྲིང་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
我们	二	*量词*	一	家	回	做	说	妹妹	*连词*

'(Sister) said, "We two (must) make back one family.'

(སྲིང་མོས་)ང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་བཟོ་ཞེས་བཤད།

妹妹说: “我们俩回(头)做一家(人)吧!”

(15)

ti	jy	li	m̩	ŋu	te	mi ʑ̩i mo	ma	na
one	family	back	make	say	DP	brother	NEG	agree
གཅིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	བཟོ་བ	འདོད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕུ་བོ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འཐད་པ
一	家	回	做	说	*连词*	哥哥	*否定*	同意

'(Sister) said, "(We two must) make one family," but (her) brother did not agree.'

(སྲིང་མོས་)ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་བཟོ་ཟེར་བར་ཕུ་བོ་འཐད་པ་མ་བྱུང་།

(妹妹) 说回 (头) 做一家 (人), 但哥哥 (坚持) 不同意。

(16)

mi ʑ̩i mo	mɛ $k^{h}a$	ka	ti	gy̩	ro $t^{h}o$	ti	mo $p^{h}a$	hũ hũ	le
brother	at a loss	DP	one	CL	millstone	one	half	carry	DP
ཕུ་བོ	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	རང་ཐག	གཅིག	ཕྱེད་ཀ	འཁུར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
哥哥	没办法	*连词*	一	*量词*	石磨	一	量词	背	*连词*

(17)

o ljo	po po	ʁo	$tɕ^{h}ə$ ta	mi	mʙu lɛ	li	da
up there	hill	LOC	from	GOAL	roll	back	come
ཡར་ན	རི་བོ	*གནས་གཞི*	ནས	*ལས་ཚིག*	འགྲིལ་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
上面	山	*位格*	从	*目词*	滚	回	来

(18)

ro $t^{h}o$	$t^{h}i$	n̩i	mo $p^{h}a$	ti gy̩ gy̩	da	li	ja ta	le	lo $q^{h}o$
millstone	DET	two	half	each other	DAT	back	stick	DP	valley
རང་ཐག	*ངེས་ཚིག*	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕན་ཚུན	*ལ་དོན*	ཕྱིར	འབྱར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ལུང་བ
石磨	*限词*	二	半	互相	*与格*	回	合	*连词*	山谷

(19)

ʁo	li	dʑa	ɕy	na	n̥i	kʏ̣	ti	jy	li	m̩	di
LOC	back	EXT	if	we	two	CL	one	family	back	make	say
གནས་གཞི	ཕྱིར	*ལས་མཐུན*	གལ་ཏེ	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	བཟོ་བ	ཟེར་བ
位格	回	*存在*	如果	我们	二	*量词*	一	家	回	做	说

'Brother was at a loss and said, "We (will) each carry one half of one millstone to the hill and roll (them) back down and if the two millstone halves are stuck back to each other in the valley, then we two may make one family."'

ཕུ་བོ་ཐབས་ཟད་ནས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། (ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་)འཐག་རྡོ་རེ་འཁྱེར་ནས་(རི་རྩེ་)ནས་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་མར་འགྲིལ། གལ་ཏེ་འཐག་རྡོ་གཉིས་ལུང་མདོ་

ནས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་འབྱར་ན་ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་བཟོ་ཟེར།

哥哥没有办法就说: “(我俩)一人背上一半石磨, (各自走上山顶,) 从山(顶)上(把那两块石磨) 滚下来, 如果两半石磨(能)在山谷里合在一起的话, 我们俩就回(头)做一家(人)吧。”

(20)

ti	gʏ̣	t^hi ʁu	lo	ɕy	ti	gʏ̣	$tʂ^h$a ka	lo	ɕy
one	CL	that side	GOAL	went	one	CL	this side	GOAL	went
གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཕ་གི	*ལས་ཚིག*	སོང་བ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཚུལ་རོལ	*ལས་ཚིག*	སོང་བ
一	*量词*	那边	*目词*	去	一	*量词*	这边	*目词*	去

'One went up that side (of a mountain valley) and one went up this side (of a mountain valley).'

གཅིག་(ལུངཔའི་)ཕར་ངོ་ལས་ཡར་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། གཅིག་ཤོས་ཚུར་རོལ་ལས་ཡར་ཕྱིན།

于是, (他俩)一人从(山)那边(走)上去, 一人从（山）这边(走)上去。

(21)

o	mi	mʁu lɛ	li	dʑy	te	k^hi	nda	m̩
EXC	GOAL	roll	back	back	DP	good	very	AVM
འབོད་ཚིག	*ལས་ཚིག*	འགྲིལ་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བཟང་བ	ཧ་ཅང	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
叹词	*目词*	滚	回	来	*连词*	好/完整	很	*副标*

(22)

ti gy̩ gy̩	li	ja ta	le	o mo	lo qʰo	ʁo	dʑa
each other	back	stick	DP	down there	valley	LOC	EXT
ཕན་ཚུན	ཕྱིར	འབྱར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མར་ན	ལུང་བ	*གནས་གཞི*	*ལས་མཐུན*
互相	回	合	*连词*	下面	山谷	*位格*	*存在*

'Oh, after (they) rolled the two millstone halves back down (they) stuck back to each other very well in the valley.'

(འཐག་རྡོ་གཉིས་)མར་འགྲིལ་ཡོང་བ་ན་ལུང་མདོ་ནས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་འབྱར།

（从山上）滚下来后，(两半石磨)在山谷里完完整整地合在一起了。

(23)

o	ta m̩	ja ta	o	dʑa	ka	ti	jy	li	ma
EXC	like this	stick	there	EXT	DP	one	CL	back	*NEG*
འབོད་ཚིག	འདི་འདྲ	འབྱར་བ	དེ་ན	*ལས་མཐུན*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	*དགག་སྒྲ*
叹词	这样	合	那儿	*存在*	*连词*	一	*量词*	回	*否定*

(24)

m̩	ma	tʰa	di	ka	ti	jy	li	m̩
make	NEG	OK	say/think	DP	one	CL	back	make
བཟོ་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འགྲིག་པ	ཟེར། བསམ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	བཟོ་བ
做	*否定*	行	说/以为	*连词*	一	*量词*	回	做

'Oh, like this, (the two millstone halves) stuck there (in the valley), so they thought, "It is not OK to not make back one family," so (they) made back one family.'

ཨོ། (འཐག་རྡོ་གཉིས་)དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དེ་ན་འབྱར་འདུག་པས། (ཁོང་ཚོས་)ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་མ་བཟོས་ན་མི་འགྲིག་སྙམ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་ཞིག་བཟོས།

哦，(两半石磨)就那样合在了一起，所以(他俩)以为不回(头)做一家(人)就不好了，于是，成为一家人了。

(25)

ti	jy	li	m̩	ȵu	te	ȵi mi xi	nda	ro
one	CL	back	make	after	DP	happy	very	PT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	བཟོ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགའ་བ	ཧ་ཅང	འདས་ཚིག
一	*量词*	回	做	后	*连词*	高兴	很	*去时*

'After (they) made back one family, (they) were very happy.'

ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་བཟོས་རྗེས་(ཁོ་གཉིས་)ཧ་ཅང་དགའ་པོ་འདུག

成为一家(人)后, (他俩都)很高兴。

(26)

mæ	te	ʑi zə mi	sə	ha t^{h}a	to	ro	ha	ma	qa dʑə
later	DP	children	give birth	time	arrive/time to	PT	also	NEG	OK
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྲུ་གུ	སྐྱེ་བ	དུས་ཚོད	ཐོན་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ
后来	*连词*	孩子	生	时间	到	*去时*	也	*否定*	好

(27)

m̩	ȵi	hĩ	tɕ^{h}o	ro ro
DP	two	month	more	over/pass
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཉིས	ཟླ་བ	ལྷག་ཙམ	ལྷག་པ
连词	二	月份	多	超过

'Later, it was time (for the sister to) give birth to children, but it was also not OK, and two more months passed.'

རྗེས་སུ་(སྲིང་མོར་)ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱེ་དུས་ལ་ཐོན་ཡང་། (གནས་ཚུལ་)མི་བཟང་སྟེ། ཟླ་བ་ལྷག་མ་གཉིས་འགོར་(ཡང་ཕྲུ་གུ་མ་སྐྱེས།)

后来，到了该生孩子的时候, (情况却)不好, （时间）超过了产期的两个月。

(28)

ȵ̥i	hĩ	tɕʰo	ro ro	te	mi	sə	dʑy	ro
two	month	more	over/pass	DP	GOAL	give birth	come	PT
གཉིས	ཟླ་བ	དེ་ལས་མང་བའི	ལྷག་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	སྐྱེ་བ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
二	月份	多	超过	*连词*	*目词*	生	来	*去时*

'After two more months passed (she) gave out birth.'

ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཟླ་བ་ལྷག་མ་གཉིས་འགོར་རྗེས་(མོས་ཕྲུ་གུ་)བཙས།

(产期)超过两个多月后生了下来。

(29)

ɣi	qʰʂ̩ə	ʁu da	m̩	ʂ̩ə xa ʂ̩ə xa	ti	ba ki	mi	sə	dʑy
cow	excrement	like	AVM	yellow	one	ba ki	GOAL	give birth	come
བ་ལང	ལྕི་བ	འདྲ་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	སེར་པོ	གཅིག	གཞུང་བ	ལས་ཚིག	སྐྱེ་བ	ཡོང་བ
牛	粪	相似	*副标*	黄色	一	簸箕	*目词*	生	来

'(She) gave birth down out (and there) came (out) one (blob of) yellow (stuff), like cow excrement (in the amount of) one *ba*^{53} *kɿ*^{53}.[A]

(མོས་)བ་ལང་གི་ལྕི་དང་འདྲ་བའི་(དངོས་པོ་)སེར་པོ་གཞུང་བ་གང་བཙས་བྱུང་།

生下了一簸箕像牛粪一样黄的（东西）。

(30)

te	qo tɕʰə	le	ʁu mdʙy	le	ma ʁa	ro
DP	sad	DP	cry	DP	badly	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡིད་སྐྱོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ངུ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དྲག་པོའི་ངང	འདས་ཚིག
连词	伤心	*连词*	哭泣	*连词*	糟糕	*去时*

[A] *ba*^{53} *kɿ*^{53} = bamboo container used to transport grain.

'Then, (they were) upset and cried badly.'

དེ་ནས་(ཁོ་གཉིས་)ཡིད་སྐྱོ་ནས་ངུས་བྱུང་།

这下(他俩)伤心，哭泣。

(31)

so	ȵi	so	ha	dʁu	ȵu	te	ȵi ji mo	tʰi	gy̩
three	day	three	night	pass	after	DP	sister	DET	CL
གསུམ	ཉིན	གསུམ	མཚན་མོ	འགོར་བ	རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྲིང་མོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*
三	量词	三	晚	过	后	*连词*	妹妹	*限词*	*量词*

(32)

te	pʰæ tɕə	da	nu	hũ hũ	hũ	ka	ti	ʁu	væ
DP	husband	DAT	you	carry	go	DP	one	CL	scoop
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོ་ག	*ལ་དོན*	ཁྱོད	འཁུར་བ	སོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བརྐོ་བ
连词	丈夫	*与格*	你	背	去	*连词*	一	*量词*	挖

(33)

ha	ja	ti	ʁu	væ	o	ja	m̩	hũ	di
here	stick	one	CL	scoop	there	stick	do	go	say
འདི་ན	འབྱར་བ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བརྐོ་བ	དེ་ན	འབྱར་བ	བཟོ་བ	སོང	ཟེར
这儿	粘	一	*量词*	挖	那儿	粘	做	去	说

'(They cried and) after three days and three nights passed, the sister said to (her) husband, "You carry (the blob) and go, then scoop one blob of (excrement-like material) to stick here, and scoop one blob to stick there.'

ཉིན་ཞག་གསུམ་འགོར་རྗེས་མོས་རང་གི་ཁྱོ་གར་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་(འདི་ཚོ་)འཁུར་ནས་སོང་། དེ་ནས་(ལྷུ་བ་)ཧྲིལ་འབྲུ་ཙམ་རྐོས་ནས་འདི་ལ་སྦྱར་ཞིང་། ཧྲིལ་འབྲུ་གཞན་ཞིག་རྐོས་ནས་དེ་ལ་སྦྱར་བར་བྱོས་ཟེར།

过了三天三夜后，妹妹对丈夫说：“你把(这些东西)背出去，(把它们分成许多份)，一份一份地粘到不同的地方吧。”

(34)

ta m̩	hũ hũ	ɕy	hũ hũ	ɕy	ka
like this	carry	went	carry	went	DP
འདི་འདྲ	འཁུར་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	འཁུར་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
这样	背	去	背	去	*连词*

(35)

ti	ʙu	væ	ha	ja	ti	ʙu	væ	o	ja	m̩
one	CL	dig	here	stick	one	CL	dig	there	stick	AVM
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྐོ་བ	འདི་ན	སྦྱོར་བ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྐོ་བ	དེ་ན	སྦྱོར་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག
一	*量词*	挖	这儿	粘	一	*量词*	挖	那儿	粘	*副标*

(36)

ja	pi tsa	te	qo $tɕ^hə$	ka	ha	jy
stick	finish	DP	sad	DP	here	sleep
སྦྱོར་བ	ཚར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡིད་སྐྱོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	གཉིད་པ
粘	完	*连词*	伤心	*连词*	这里	睡觉

'Like this, (according to the sister's instruction, he) carried (the yellow excrement), and dug one blob (of yellow excrement) to stick here and dug one blob to stick there, after (he) finished sticking (he was) very sad so (he) slept here (where he finished sticking).

དེ་བཞིན་དུ། (ཁོས་ལྕི་བ་དེ་)འཁུར་ནས་ཕྱིན། དེ་ནས་(ལྕི་བ་)ཉིལ་འབྲུ་ཙམ་བརྐོས་ནས་འདི་ལ་སྦྱར་ཞིང་། ཡང་ཉིལ་འབྲུ་ཙམ་བརྐོས་ནས་དེ་ལ་སྦྱར། སྦྱར་ཚར་རྗེས་(ཁོ་རང་)ཡིད་སྐྱོ་ནས་འདི་རུ་གཉིད་དུ་ཡུར།

(他)把这些东西背了去，一背兜地背去，粘到不同的地方去后，伤心地在那里睡着了。

(37)

ha	ti	mbæ	ji ŋæ	le	li ʂ̥u	te
here	one	CL	sleep	DP	wake up	DP
འདི་ན	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	གཉིད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཉིད་ལས་སད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
这儿	一	*量词*	睡觉	*连词*	醒	*连词*

(38)

ti	ʁu	væ	q^{h}a	ja	te	su	ti	jy	dʁu	ro
one	CL	dig	where	stick	DP	man	one	CL	become	PT
གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བརྐོ་བ	གང་ན	འབྱར་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མི	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འགྱུར་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
一	*量词*	挖	哪儿	粘	*连词*	人	一	*量词*	成为	*去时*

(39)

ji mi	ti	ly	ha	ndʑɛ	mi k^{h}y̩	ti	bi	ha	dʑy
house	one	CL	here	EXT	smoke	one	CL	here	raise
ཁང་བ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འདི་ན	*ཡས་མཐུན*	དུ་བ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འདི་ན	འཕྱུར་བ
房子	一	*量词*	这儿	*存在*	烟	一	*量词*	这儿	升

'(He) slept here for one period of time and woke up and it became one man's family, where (he) had scooped one blob (of yellow excrement) to stick; and there was one house here and one (column of) smoke rose (from) here.'

(ཁོ་)འདིར་ཉུང་ཙམ་གཉིད་ནས་སད་པ་ན། (སྔོན་ཁོས་ལྐྱི་བ་རྡོག་ཙམ་)བརྐོས་ནས་སྦྱར་བའི་གནས་སུ་མི་ཁྱིམ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཁང་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་ལ་(དེ་ལས་)དུ་བ་འཕྱུར་གྱིན་འདུག

在那里睡了一觉醒来时, (他刚才)粘了东西的地方出现了一户户人家，有一个个房子, (还有)一股股（炊)烟从那儿升起。

(40)

ɕə po	ja	ɕə po	mi	lu qa	ja	lu qa	mi
tree	stick	tree	name	stone	stick	stone	name
ཤིང	འབྱར་བ	ཤིང	མིང་འདོགས་པ	རྡོ	འབྱར་བ	རྡོ	མིང་འདོགས་པ
树	粘	树	取名	石头	粘	石头	取名

'(Then they) named (the family) *ɕə*^{11} *po*^{53} (or tree, for he had scooped out some amount of excrement) and stuck (the excrement) on the tree; (they) named (the family) lu^{53} qa^{53} (or stone, for he had scooped out some amount of excrement) and stuck on the stone.'

(དེ་ནས་ཁོ་ཚོས་སྔོན་ཚད་ལྐྱི་བ་ཉིལ་འབྲུ་དག་)ཤིང་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་གནས་སུ་(ཚགས་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ལ་)ཤིང་དང་རྡོ་ལ་སྦྱར་བའི་གནས་སུ་(ཚགས་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ལ་)རྡོ་ཞེས་བཏགས།

于是，(他俩把)粘到树(上的人家)取名为'西伯', 粘到石头上的取名为'鲁呷'.

(41)

te	a mi	na	li	tɕa	wa	tɕa	tʰi ki	te
DP	now	we	Li	family	Wang	family	these	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་ལྟ	ང་ཚོ	ལའེ་ཧྲོ	རྒྱུད་པ	ཝང	རྒྱུད་པ	འདི་ཚོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	现在	我们	李	家族	王	家族	这些	*连词*

(42)

ha	tɕʰə ta	lo	mi	li	dʑy	su	dja
here	from	GOAL	name	again	come	GEN	BE
འདི་ན	ནས	*ལས་ཚིག*	མིག་འདོགས་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*ནི་སྒྲ*
这儿	从	*目词*	取名	方向词	来	*属格*	*判断*

'Now, we, these Li families and Wang families, were named back (there) and came from here.'
ད་ལྟ་ང་ཚོའི་ལའེ་ཧྲོ་ཚང་དང་ཝང་ཚང་གི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ནི་དེ་ནས་ཡོང་བ་རེད།
现在，我们这些李家和王家（的姓）就是从这里来的。

(43)

mæ	te	tɕo ʂə	ɣi	qʰʂə	ʁu ta	tʰi qʰo	ȵi
later	DP	BE	cow	excrement	like	these	ERG
རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ནི་སྒྲ*	བ་མོ	ལྕི་བ	འདྲ་བ	འདི་ཚོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*
后来	*连词*	*判断*	牛	粪	像	这些	*作格*

(44)

su	lo	fa	li	dʑy	su	lo
human	GOAL	propagate	back	come	GEN	MP
མིའི་རིགས	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྐྱེ་འཕེལ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*ཚིག་སྟེགས*
人	*目词*	繁育	回	来	*属格*	*语气*

'Later, humans were propagated back up by these cow-excrement-like ones.'
རྗེས་སུ་མིའི་རིགས་བ་མོའི་ལྕི་བ་འདྲ་བ་འདི་དག་གིས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་དར་འཕེལ་བྱུང་དུ་བཅུག་པ་རེད།
后来, (就有了这样的传说,)人类就是由这些像牛粪一样的(东西)孕育出来的。

THE HERO a^{53} $p^{h}i^{44}$ $ræ^{53}$ ɴGæ^{53} li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53}

(1)

i ȵi a ʂə	te	na	na mʑi	te
ancient	DP	we	na mʑi	DP
གནའ་སྔ་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང་ཚོ	ཧ་སྨུ་ཞི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
古代	*连词*	我们	纳木依	*连词*

(2)

a p^{h}i ræ ɴGæ	ŋu	ta	gɣ	ɕə za
a p^{h}i ræ ɴGæ	say/call	thus	CL	mystical[A]
ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གཱ	ཟེར	འདི་འདྲ	ཚད་ཚིག	ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན
阿坯冉呷	叫	这样	*量词*	神勇

'In ancient (times among) we na^{53} mʑi^{53}, a person called a^{53} $p^{h}i^{53}$ $ræ^{53}$ ɴGæ^{53} was mystical.'
གནའ་སྔ་མོར། ང་ཚོ་ཧ་སྨུ་ཞི་ལ་ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གཱ་ཟེར་བའི་ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན་གྱི་མི་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་རེད།
古时候, 我们纳木依有一个神勇的(人)叫阿坯冉呷。

(3)

te	ɕə za	le	a $tʂ^{h}$a ha	ʁa ta	su	dja	le
DP	mystical	DP	almost	success	GEN	BE	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕལ་ཆེར	རྒྱལ་ཁ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
连词	神勇	*连词*	几乎	成就大业	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

[A] *ɕə^{44} za^{44}* is used to describe such amazing things as a person flying, leaping over mountains and being invincible/immortal.

'Then (the person) was mystical and almost successful.'
དེ་ནས་(མི་འདི་)རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་སྟོན་ནུས་ཞིང་ཕལ་ཆེར་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐོབ་པ་རེད།
后来, 差一点儿就成就了大业。

(4)

mæ	te	ɕə za	nda	ka
later	DP	mystical	very	DP
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	神勇	很	*连词*

(5)

va	t^{h}i	jy	n̥i	ɕə ɕə	mi ŋga	su	lo
Han	DET	CL	ERG	make/kill	SUF-COM	GEN	MP
རྒྱ་མི	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	བཟོ་བ	འདས་རྗེས	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
汉人	*限词*	*量词*	*作格*	做/杀	*后体*	*属格*	*语气*

'Then later (he was) very mystical so was killed by Han.'
(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་ག་ལ་)ནུས་རྩལ་ཧ་ཅང་ཆེ་བས་རྒྱ་མིས་བསད་པ་རེད།
(他)很神勇, 所以后来被汉人杀掉了。

(6)

q^{h}a	m̩	q^{h}a	m̩	t^{h}ɛ	ɕə ɕə	ha	ma	mba	ka
how	do	how	do[A]	he	make/kill	also	NEG	able	DP
ཅི་འདྲ	བྱེད	ཅི་འདྲ	བྱེད	ཁོ	བཟོ་བ	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
怎样	做	怎样	做	他	做/弄	也	*否定*	能	*连词*

(7)

mæ	te	va m̩ ja	ɕɛ	zə mi	ti	ja
later	DP	lord	family	girl	one	CL
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱལ་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	བུ་མོ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	君王	家	女儿	一	*量词*

[A] *q^ha^{53} m̩^{53}* = when repeated, it adds emphasis.

(8)

la	t^{h}ε	lo	ko	dʑy
OTM	he	GOAL	give	come
ཕྱལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ལས་ཚིག	སྟེར་བ	ཡོང་བ
宾标	他	*目词*	给	来

'(Han) tried very hard to kill him but were also unable (to kill him), so later (Han) brought one Han lord's girl and gave (her) to him.'
(དང་ཐོག་རྒྱ་མིས་)ཅི་ནུས་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་གསོད་རྩིས་བྱས་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་གསོད་མ་ཐུབ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་རྗེས་སུ(རྒྱ་མིས་)རྒྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་ཁོ་ལ་བྱིན་པ་རེད།
怎么也不能 (杀死他), 所以后来 (汉族君王将自己的) 女儿(嫁)给了他。

(9)

va m̩ ja	zə mi	la	t^{h}ε	lo	ko	n̥u	te
lord	girl	OTM	he	GOAL	give	after	DP
རྒྱལ་པོ	བུ་མོ	ཕྱལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ལས་ཚིག	སྟེར་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
君王	女儿	*宾标*	他	*目词*	给	后	*连词*

(10)

mæ	te	zə mi	ti	ja	dʙu
later	DP	girl	one	CL	become/have
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ་མོ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བཙའ་བ
后来	*连词*	女儿	一	*量词*	成为/生

'After (they) brought the girl of the lord and gave (her) to him, later (the family of the lord's daughter and a^{53} p^{h}i^{53} ræ^{53} ɴGæ^{53}) had one girl (daughter).'
(རྒྱ་མི་ཚོས་རྒྱའི་)རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་མོ་ཁོ་ལ་བྱིན་རྗེས། (ཆུང་མས་)བུ་མོ་ཞིག་བཙས།
君王的女儿嫁给他后, (妻子)生了个女儿。

(11)

zə mi	t^{h}i	ja	zə da	ro	ha	ʂ̥o	ma	na
girl	DET	CL	walk	PT	also	tell	NEG	would
བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	རྐང་ཐང	འདས་ཚིག	ཀྱང	བཤད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ
女儿	*限词*	*量词*	走路	*去时*	也	说	*否定*	愿意

'(When the) girl (got old enough to) walk (a^{53} p^{h}i^{53} ræ^{53} NGæ^{53}) would also not tell (why he was chopped to pieces by Han but then became a healthy man again—why he could not be killed).'

(ཁོའི་)བུ་མོ་དེ་(ནར་སོན་ནས་)འགྲོ་ཐུབ་དུས་ཀྱང་(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གླུས་ཁོའི་ནུས་རྩལ་དེ་ཁོ་ལ་ཅི་ལྟར་ཐོབ་པའི་གསང་བ་)བཤད་མ་འདོད།

那个女儿(能够)走路了, 但是(他)还是不肯说(他如此神勇的秘密)。

(12)

ti	n̥i	te	nu	ha	jo	tʂ^{h}ə mi	dʙu	ro	ŋu	ka
one	day	DP	you	also	SELF	wife	become	PT	say/think	DP
གཅིག	ཉིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཀྱང	རང་ཉིད	ཆུང་མ	འགྱུར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བསམ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
一	天	*连词*	你	也	自己	妻子	成为	*去时*	想	*连词*

(13)

jo	gɛ ræ	su	nu	ʂ̥o	ŋu	k^{h} ṿ ʂ̥ə	ti	ha	te
SELF	real	GEN	you	tell	say/think	New Year Eve	one	night	DP
རང་ཉིད	ངོ་མ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཁྱོད	བཤད་པ	བསམ	ལོ་སར་གནམ་གང	ཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
自己	真实	*属格*	你	讲	想	除夕	一	晚	*连词*

'One day, one night of the New Year Eve (a^{53} p^{h}i^{53} ræ^{53} NGæ^{53}) thought, "You (my wife) also became my wife and I will tell you the real truth."'

ལོ་ཞིག་གི་གནམ་གང་ལ། (ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གླུས་)བསམས་པར་ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ངའི་ཆུང་མར་གྱུར་བས། ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་(གསང་བ་)ངོ་མ་བཤད་(རྒྱུ་)ཡིན་སྙམ།

一天，在除夕的晚上, (阿坯冉呷)想: “你也成为我的妻子了. 今晚, 就给你讲(我神勇的)真实(秘密)吧!”

(14)

kʰɣ̩ ʂ̩ə	ti	ha	te	ɣ̩	ndʐ̩ə	ka	zə qa	n̥u	te
New Year Eve	one	night	DP	liquor	drink	DP	drunk	after	DP
ལོ་སར་གནམ་གང	གཅིག	ཚོད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆང	འཐུང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བཟི་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
除夕	一	晚	*连词*	酒	喝	*连词*	醉	后	*连词*

(15)

tʂ̩ʰə mi	tʰi	ja	da	lo	ʂ̩o	ro
wife	DET	CL	DAT	GOAL	tell	PT
ཆུང་མ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལ་དོན	ལས་ཚིག	བཤད	འདས་ཚིག
妻子	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*	*目词*	说	*去时*

'One New Year Eve night, (he) drank liquor (became) drunk and told the wife.'
གནམ་གང་གི་དགོང་མོ་ཞིག་ལ། ཁོས་ཆང་འཐུང་ནས་ར་བཟིར་གྱུར་སྟེ་ཆུང་མར་(གསང་བ་)བཤད།
在一个除夕的晚上, (他)喝酒醉了就向妻子说了。

(16)

te	ta hũ	te	nu	ha	jo	tʂ̩ʰə mi	dʙu	ro
DP	tonight	DP	you	also	SELF	wife	become	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཀྱང	རང་ཉིད	ཆུང་མ	འགྱུར་བ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	今晚	*连词*	你	也	自己	妻	成为	*去时*

'Then (he said), "(From) tonight (on I will trust you because) you also became my wife."'
(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གླུས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) དོ་ནུབ་ནས་བཟུང་(ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་སྟེ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་)ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ངའི་ཆུང་མར་གྱུར།
“今晚(以后, 我会真信任你）你也真成了我的妻子!”

(17)

jo	qo[A]	ti	la	te	o tjo	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ[B]	zə
SELF	qo	one	CL	DP	over there	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ	EXT
རང་ཉིད།	ཀོའོ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕར་ན	ཨ་ཙུ་བྷུ་མུ	ལས་མཐུན
自己	命根子	一	*量词*	*连词*	那边	哈杂布马	*存在*

(18)

ti	la	te	o mo	ta ji	ga kʏ̩	zə
one	CL	DP	down there	ta ji	range	EXT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མར་ན	ཏཱ་ཡ	རི་རྒྱུད	ལས་མཐུན
一	*量词*	*连词*	下面	达亚	山系	*存在*

(19)

ti	la	te	o mo	o ndʐo	ʁa kʰʏ̩[C]	zə
one	CL	DP	down there	o ndʐo	ʁa kʰʏ̩	EXT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མར་ན	ཨོ་འགྲོ	ཨ་ཁྱུག	ལས་མཐུན
一	*量词*	*连词*	下面	噢卓	哈库	*存在*

'(He continued), 'One of my *qo*^{11} is down there in ʁa^{11} tsa^{11}ʙu^{44} mæ^{55} (Mountain Range), one is down there in ta^{14} ja^{11} (Mountain Range) and one is down there in ondro ʁa^{44} kʰʏ̩^{11} (Mountain Range).'''

(ངའི་སྲོག་གི་)ཀོའོ་(ནག་པོ་)གཅིག་ཨ་ཙུ་བྷུ་མུ་(རི་རྒྱུད་)དུ་ཡོད་ལ། གཅིག་ཏཱ་ཡ་(རི་རྒྱུད་)དུ་ཡོད། གཅིག་ནི་དེ་ན་ཨོ་འགྲོ་ཨ་ཁྱུག་(རི་རྒྱུད་)དུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

“我的一根命根子在哈杂布马山里，一根在达亚山里，(还有)一根在噢卓哈库山里。”

[A] *qo*^{11} is a crucial component of the human body. When *qo*^{11} is in the hands, one can, for example, be very successful at killing birds by throwing stones. When *qo*^{11} is in the eyes, one can see things clearly at that time. *qo*^{11} moves around in the bodies of ordinary people. Powerful people have *qo*^{11} in their bodies and also in mountains and trees.

[B] According to li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11}pə^{53}, ʁa^{11} tsa^{11} ʙu^{44} mæ^{55} and ta^{13} ja^{11} are mountains in Mianning County.

[C] A mountain in Xichang City today, but the exact location is unclear.

(20)

jo	hĩ	rə hĩ[A]	ti	ja	te	o ljo	lu kỵ [B]	ɣi ȵi mi^{44}[C]	zə
SELF	GEN	soul	one	CL	DP	up there	lu kỵ	ɣi ȵi mi	EXT
རང་ཉིད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རྣམ་ཤེས	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡར་ན	ལུའུ་ཀུའུ	ཨི་ཉི་མི	ལས་མཐུན
自己	*属格*	灵魂	一	*量词*	*连词*	上面	泸古	衣尼米	*存在*

(21)

ti	ja	te	o ljo	tʂʰa la ma[D]	zə
one	CL	DP	up there	tʂʰa la ma	EXT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡར་ན	ཁྲ་ལ་མ	ལས་མཐུན
一	*量词*	*连词*	上面	叉拉马	*存在*

(22)

ti	ja	te	o tjo	ni bo zi bo[E]	zə
one	CL	DP	over there	ni bo zi bo	EXT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕར་ན	ནེ་སྦོ་ཟེ་སྦོ	ལས་མཐུན
一	*量词*	*连词*	那儿	尼伯泽伯	*存在*

(23)

ti	ja	te	a mi	jo jo	ti	ja	te	nu	jo jo
one	CL	DP	mother	with	one	CL	DP	you	with
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་མ	འགྲོགས་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འགྲོགས་པ
一	*量词*	*连词*	妈妈	跟随	一	*量词*	*连词*	你	跟随

[A] An ordinary person has three *rə*^{53} *hĩ*^{53} or souls. Very powerful people have more than three. Here a^{53} pʰi^{53} ræ^{53} ɴɢæ^{53} described the locations of his souls from the most important soul to the least important.

[B] lu^{11} kỵ^{53} ＝ 泸古.

[C] ɣi^{11} ȵi^{11} mi^{44} is a mountain in lu^{11} kỵ^{53} Township, Mianning County.

[D] tʂʰa^{11} la^{11} ma^{44} is a sacred mountain in dʐə^{11} qu^{11} Village, Lizhou Township.

[E] A mountain in an unknown location.

(24)

nu	jo jo	t^{h}i	ja	te	ha	qa lu	pæ	zə	ŋu
you	with	DET	CL	DP	here	qa lu	beside	EXT	say
ཁྱོད	འགྲོགས་པ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	འདི་ན	ཐབ་རྡོ	འགྲམ་དུ	*ལས་མཐུན*	ཟེར
你	跟随	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	这儿	呷鲁	旁边	*存在*	说

'One of my souls is up in lu^{11} ky̩^{53} ɣi^{11} ȵi^{11} mi^{44} (Mountain Range), one is up in tʂ^{h}a^{11}la^{11} ma^{44} (Mountain Range), one is there in—ni^{11} bo^{44} zi^{44} bo^{44} (Mountain Range), one is with Mother and one is with you, and the one with you is here, beside (under) the *qa^{11} lu^{44}* stone here.'
(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གྲུས་སུ་མཐུད་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཤེས་གཅིག་ཡར་ན་ལུའུ་ཀུའུ་ཡེ་ཉི་མྀ་(རི་རྒྱུད་དུ་)ཡོད་ལ། གཅིག་ཡར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲ་ལ་མ་(རི་རྒྱུད་དུ་)གནས་ཡོད། གཅིག་ཆེ་ནྡོ་ཟི་ནྡོ་(རི་རྒྱུད་དུ་)གནས་ཡོད། གཅིག་ངའི་ཨ་མ་དང་འགྲོགས་འདུག གཅིག་ནི་ཁྱོད་དང་འགྲོགས་ཡོད། ཁྱོད་དང་འགྲོགས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་འདི་ན་ཐབ་རྡོ་འགྲམ་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་ཟེར།
"我的一个灵魂在泸古衣尼米山里, 一个在的叉拉马山里, 一个在那尼泊泽伯山里, 一个跟随着妈妈, (还有)一个跟随着你, 跟随着你的那个就在这儿, 呷鲁下面。"

(25)

t^{h}i ki	mi	ʂo	dʑy	ro	y̩	zə qa	ka
these	GOAL	tell	come	PT	liquor	drunk	DP
འདི་ཚོ	*ལས་ཚིག*	བཤད	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཆང	བཟི་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
这些	*目词*	说	来	*去时*	酒	醉	*连词*

'(He was) drunk so (he) told (her) and out came (these secrets).'
(ཁོ་)ཆང་གིས་བཟི་བས་འདི་ཚོ་བཤད་པ་རེད།
(他)喝醉酒了就说出了这些(秘密)。

(26)

zə mi	t^{h}i	ja	te
girl/woman	DET	CL	DP
བུ་མོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(27)

pi	la	li	bi	ma	mæ mæ	m̩
pen	take/bring	back	go	NEG	in time	AVM
སྨྱུག་གུ	ལེན་པ	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	དུས་ཐོག་ཏུ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
笔	拿	回	走	*否定*	来不及	*副标*

(28)

t^hɛ	hĩ	la n̥o	a k^ha ʑi	ti	tɛ
she	ERG	finger	little	one	half
མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	མཛུབ་མོ	ཆུང་ངོས	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག
她	*作格*	指头	小	一	段

(29)

t^hɛ	n̥i	t^hɛ	mi ŋga	ka	t^hi	rə	t^hi pa[A]	m̩
she	ERG	bite	SUF-COM	DP	GOAL	write	ITR	do
མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	སོ་རྒྱག་པ	*འདས་རྗེས*	*སྦྱོར་སྒྲ*	*ལས་ཚིག*	འབྲི་བ	*བསྐྱར་ཟློས*	བྱེད་པ
她	*作格*	咬	*后体*	*连词*	*目词*	写	*重复*	做

'The woman (had) no time to go and bring back a pen (so she) bit down (bit off) one-half of (one of) her little fingers and wrote as quickly as possible.'

བུད་མེད་འདི་ཕྱིར་སོང་ནས་སྨྱུག་གུ་ལེན་ལོང་མ་བྱུང་བས(རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་)མཛུབ་ཆུང་ལ་སོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ཁྲག་གིས་གང་མྱུར་གྱིས་བྲིས།

(君王的)女儿没来得及去拿笔，咬断了她的小指头，(用血)急忙地写着(自己所听到的一切)。

(30)

ʂo	pi tsa	te	rə	pi tsa	ro
tell	finish	DP	write	finish	PT
བཤད	ཚར་བ	*སྦྱོར་ཚིག*	འབྲི་བ	ཚར་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
说	完	*连词*	写	完	*去时*

[A] *t^hi^{11}…t^hi^{11} pa^{11}* is a phrase emphasizing the speed of doing something, hence our translation 'to do something as quickly as possible'.

'(When he) finished telling, (she) finished writing.'

(ཁོས་)བཤད་ཚར་དུས་(མོས་ཀྱང་)བྲིས་ཚར།

(阿坯冉呷)一说完, (她也)写完了。

(31)

te	nu	ta ṃ	mba	su
DP	you	like this	powerful	GEN
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འདི་འདྲ	ནུས་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
连词	你	这样	能干	*属格*

(32)

ta hũ	na	ȵi	kỵ	k^{h}ỵ ʂə	ro	ŋu	su
tonight	we	two	CL	have New Year	PT	say/about	GEN
དོ་དགོང	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ལོ་སར་རོལ་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཟེར། སྐོར	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
今晚	我们	俩	*量词*	除夕/过年	*去时*	说/关于	*属格*

(33)

t^{h}a ræ	t^{h}i	pʁu	q^{h}a	ŋa	a da	ɕɛ	hĩ
letter	DET	CL	shoot	I	father	family	GEN
ཤོག་བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	རྒྱག་པ	ང	ཨ་ཕ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
纸	*限词*	*量词*	打	我	爸爸	家	*属格*

(34)

q^{h}o bo	so	k^{h}ỵ	ti	k^{h}ỵ	lo	ts^{h}u	a	p^{h}a	di
door	three	CL	DET	CL	GOAL	EXT	INT	able	say
སྒོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	ཡས་མཐུན	འདྲི་ཚིག	ཐུབ་པ	ཟེར
门	三	*量词*	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	*存在*	*疑问*	能	说

'(His wife) said, "You are such a powerful person, are you able to shoot a letter about we two having the New Year to my father's family's third door?[A]"'
(ཁོའི་ཆུང་མས་)ཁྱོད་འདི་འདྲ་ནུས་པ་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་རེད། (ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་)དོ་དགོང་ཞུ་གཉིས་ལོ་སར་ལ་རོལ་བའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཤོག་བུ་(འཕྲིན་ཡིག་)འདི་ངའི་ཨ་ཕ་ཚང་གི་སྒོ་གསུམ་པ་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཕེན་ཐུབ་བམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།
(君王的女儿)说: “你是这样厉害的, 今晚你能把关于我俩过年的这封信射到我爸爸家的第三扇大门上吗?”

(35)

a qæ[B]	nu	t^hi	$p^hæ$	te
MP	you	DET	CL	DP
ཚིག་སྟེགས	ཁྱོད	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
语气	你	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(36)

nu	væ qæ	q^ho bo	ho	$k^hy̩$	ha	jo	mba	le	ŋu
you	more	door	ten	CL	also	SELF	able	MP	say
ཁྱོད	གཞན་པ	སྒོ	བཅུ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང	རང་ཉིད	ཐུབ་པ	ཚིག་སྟེགས	ཟེར
你	另外	门	十	*量词*	也	自己	能	*语气*	说

'(He) said, "You, such a little thing (to shoot through three doors, and if there were), ten more doors also I am able to (shoot through them)."'
(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གཱུས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) འདི་འདྲའི་བྱ་བ་ཆུང་ཆུང་ཞིག (སྒོ་གསུམ་མི་ཚད་)གཞན་པ་སྒོ་བཅུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ངའི་(སྐྱབ་)ཐུབ་ཟེར།
(阿坯冉呷)说: “你这只是小事一桩, 你(再让我射另外)十扇(门)我都能。”

[A] It is locally believed that people lived in houses with three doors or entrances in Han kingdoms long ago. The outer two were huge gates and the king lived inside the third or inner entrance.

[B] A sound indicating the belief that something is very easy to do.

(37)

nu	la	jo	li $ts^hə$	ʁu mba	ts^hu	da	ŋu
you	take/bring	SELF	arrow	tip	EXT/put	come	say
ཁྱོད་	འཁྱེར་བ་	རང་ཉིད་	མདའ་	རྩེ་མོ་	འཆིང་བ་	ཡོང་བ་	ཟེར་
你	拿	自己	箭	顶端	·系	来	说

'(He) said, "You take the (letter) and put (it) on my arrow tip."'
(ཁོས་)ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་(ཤོག་བུ་དེ་)འཁྱེར་ནས་ངའི་མདའ་རྩེར་ཆིངས་ཤིག་ཅེས་བཤད།
(他继续)说: “你把它拿来系到我的箭头上。”

(38)

mbzə̧	t^hi	gy̩	n̡i	la	li $ts^hə$	ʁu mba	ts^hu	te
wife	DET	CL	ERG	take/bring	arrow	tip	put	DP
ཆུང་མ	རིས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མདའ	རྩེ་མོ	འཆིང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
妻子	*限词*	*量词*	*作格*	拿	箭	顶端	系	*连词*

(39)

$t^hɛ$	n̡i	q^ha	le	q^ho bo	so	$k^hy̩$	bʑi	ro	ha
he	ERG	shoot	DP	door	three	CL	through	PT	also
ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མདའ་འཕེན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྒོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྒྱུད་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཀྱང
他	*作格*	射	*连词*	门	三	*量词*	穿过	*去时*	也

(40)

t^ha ræ	t^hi	pʁu	ti	$p^hæ$	ha[A]	ma	$q^hæ$ pæ
paper	DET	CL	one	CL	also/even	NEG	tear
ཤོག་བུ	རིས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	གཤགས་པ
纸	*限词*	*量词*	一	*量词*	也	*否定*	破/损坏

A ti^{11} $p^hæ^{44}$ ha^{44} = even a little.

'The wife took (the letter) and put (it) on the arrow tip and he shot (it) through the three doors with the paper was not even a little torn.'
ཆུང་མས་ཤོག་བུ་(འཕྲིན་ཡིག་)དེ་མདའ་རྩེར་བཅིངས། ཁོས་དེ་འཕངས་ནས་སྒོ་གསུམ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱང་ཤོག་བུ་དེ་སྐྲ་ཙམ་ཡང་གཤགས་མེད།
妻子拿(起信纸)，系到箭头上后，他射穿了(他丈人家的)那三扇门，可是这张信纸一点也没有损坏。

(41)

i ȵ̥i a ʂ̥ə	hĩ	li tsʰə	te	ti	hĩ	rə gy̩	ʁo	ha
ancient	GEN	arrow	DP	one	month	road	LOC	also
གནའ་སྔ་མོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	མདའ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	ཟླ་བ	ལམ	*གནས་གཞི*	ཀྱང
古代	*属格*	箭	*连词*	一	月份	路	*位格*	也

(42)

su	tʰɛ	ȵ̥i	qʰa	le	ʂ̥ə qo	pʰa	su	dja	le
man	it	ERG	shoot	DP	die	able	GEN	BE	MP
མི	དེ་	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	མདའ་འཕེན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཤི་བ	ཐུབ་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*ནི་སྒྲ*	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*
人	它	*作格*	射	*连词*	死	能	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'The ancient arrow was also able to shoot people to death from (a distance) of one month on the road (the distance of one month walking on foot).'
གནའ་སྔ་མོའི་མདའ་མོས་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་གི་རིང་ལ་ལམ་དུ་(ཆས་ནས་རྒྱང་རིང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་)མི་(ཡི་རྗེས་ཀྱང་ཆོད་ནས་ཁོ་རང་)གསོད་ཐུབ།
古代的箭是能把在千里之外的人都能射死的。

(43)

te	ndo	ro	le
DP	see	PT	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མཐོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*
连词	见	*去时*	*语气*

'Then it (the letter) was seen (by the lord's family).'
དེ་ནས་(རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གིས་ཡི་གེ་དེ་)མཐོང་།
于是, (信纸)被(君王家的人)看见了。

(44)

va m̩ ja	ɕɛ	lo tɕə	dʑy[A]	ro
lord	family	stand up	come	PT
རྒྱལ་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ལངས་པ	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
君王	家	起	来	*去时*

'The lord family's soldiers came.'
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གི་(དམག་)ཡོང་བ་རེད།
君王家的(兵追)起来了。

(45)

te	va	ma	dʑy	le
DP	Han	soldier	come	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱ་མི	དམག	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
连词	汉族	兵	来	*连词*

(46)

t^{h}ɛ	qo	q^{h}a	zə	rə hĩ	q^{h}a	zə	su	m̩
he	qo	where	EXT	soul	where	EXT	GEN	AVM
ཁོ	ཀོའི	གང་ན	*ལས་མཐུན*	རྣམ་ཤེས	གང་ན	*ལས་མཐུན*	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
他	命根子	哪儿	*存在*	灵魂	哪儿	*存在*	*属格*	*副标*

[A] *lo*^{11} *tɕə*^{53} *dʑy*^{11} emphasizes the idea of 'come'.

(47)

qæ	le	qæ	le	qæ	tɕə tɕə
dig	DP	dig	DP	dig	often/always
རྐོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ	རྟག་པར
挖	*连词*	挖	*连词*	挖	一直/不停地

'Then Han soldiers came and always dug, dug, dug where his *qo*^{11} and where his soul (were located).'
རྒྱ་དམག་ཡོང་ནས་རྟག་པར་ཁོའི་ཀོའོ་དང་རྣམ་ཤེས་ཡོད་ས་ཚང་མ་བརྐོས།
汉兵来了, 哪儿有他的命根子和灵魂, 就在哪儿不停地挖。

(48)

a mi	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ	t^{h}i	la	m̩ tɕ^{h}y	ti	hĩ	tɕ^{h}o	m̩	qæ
now	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ	DET	CL	time	one	month	more than	AVM	dig
ད་ལྟ	ཨ་ཙ་བྲུ་སྨ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དུས་ཡུན	གཅིག	ཟླ་བ	ལྷག	བྱེད་ཚིག	རྐོ་བ
现在	哈杂布马	*限词*	*量词*	时间	一	月份	多	*副标*	挖

'(They) dug (into) ʁa^{11} tsa^{11} bu^{44} mæ^{44} (Mountain that exists) now, for more than one month.'
(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་ད་ལྟའི་(རི་བོ་)ཨ་ཙ་བྲུ་སྨ་དེ་བརྐོས་པ་རེད།
在现在的这座哈杂布马山上挖了一个多月。

(49)

te	t^{h}i	ti	ha	te	li	bi	ro
DP	DET	one	night	DP	back	go	FT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ངེས་ཚིག	གཅིག	མཚན་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ་བ	མ་འོངས་པ
连词	*限词*	一	晚上	*连词*	回	走/去	*未时*

(50)

qæ	ma	qæ	ro	ŋu	ji
dig	NEG	would	FT	say	say
རྐོ་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད	བཤད
挖	*否定*	想	*未时*	说	说

'It was said that one night (the soldiers) said, "(We) will go back and will not dig (anymore) after (that)."'

དེ་ནས་མཚན་མོ་ཞིག་ལ་(དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་)ཕྱིར་འགྲོད་ནས་བརྒྱུང་མི་བརྐོ་ཞེས་བཤད་པར་གྲགས།

那一天晚上, (君王家的兵)就想回去, 不想(再)挖了。

(51)

te	ũ ndʑə	gɣ̩	te	ja ka	la	o	li	go pa	ka
DP	old man	CL	DP	pipe	CL	there	back	left	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒད་པོ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	རྣ་ཅེ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	དེ་ན	ཕྱིར	ལུས་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
连词	老头子	*量词*	*连词*	烟斗	*量词*	那儿	回	掉/丢	*连词*

(52)

ja ka	tʰi	la	qɣ̩	li	ɕy
pipe	DET	CL	pick	back	went
རྣ་ཅེ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ལེན་པ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན
烟斗	*限词*	*量词*	取	回	去

'Then an old man had left a pipe there and went back to pick up the pipe.'

དེ་ནས་རྒད་པོ་ཞིག་གི་རྣ་ཅེ་ཞིག་(གནས་)དེར་ལུས་སོང་བས་ཕྱིར་ལེན་དུ་ཕྱིན།

(这些兵里, 有个老兵), 这老头子因为烟斗丢在那儿, 所以就回去取那只烟斗。

(53)

te	o wo[A]	ji	kʰo	mi	da	tʂʰa	ro	le	ŋu
DP	EXC	one	CL	rice	only	left	PT	MP	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབོད་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲས	ཁོ་ན	ལུས་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས	བཤད
连词	*叹词*	一	*量词*	米	仅仅	差	*去时*	*语气*	说

(54)

o	kʰa tʰo	su	ũ ndʑə	tʰi	gy̩	ræ	gi	ro
there	speak	GEN	old man	DET	CL	PRE-ATT	hear	PT
དེ་ན	བཤད་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འདས་སྔོན	ཐོས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
那儿	说	*属格*	老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*前体*	听	*去时*

'There the old man heard (a[53] pʰi[53] ræ[53] NGæ[53]'s soul) saying and speaking (to himself) there, "Oh, only one distance of rice[B] is left (to reach me)."'

དེ་ནས་(ཨ་ཕའི་ར་གུས་)ཨོ། འབྲས་རྡོག་ཙམ་(གྱི་ཚད་)མ་གཏོགས་ལུས་མེད་ཅེས་དེར་བཤད་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་རྒན་པོ་ངེས་ཐོས་སོང་།

老头子听到了(阿坯冉呷)在那儿说: “哦！仅仅差一颗米了呀!”

(55)

ho	kʰwæ	tjɛ	tʂwæ	le	kʰwæ	tje	dʐwæ	le	ŋu
EXC	quick	little	return	come	quick	little	return	come	say
འབོད་ཚིག	མགྱོགས་པ	ཉུང་ཙམ	ཕྱིར་ཡོང་བ	ཡོང་བ	མགྱོགས་པ	ཉུང་ཙམ	ཕྱིར་ཡོང་བ	ཡོང་བ	བཤད
叹词	快	点	转/回	来	转/回	点	转	来	说

(56)

ka	ma	tʰɛ	n̥i	ndzo̩	li	dʑy	pi tsa[C]
DP	soldier	he	ERG	call	back	come	finish
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དམག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འབོད་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	ཚར་བ
连词	兵	他	*作格*	叫	回	来	完

[A] o^{53} wo^{11} = sound indicating fear, e.g., "I'm nearly scared to death."

[B] One distance of rice = the length of a rice grain, or 'very near' or 'just about to happen'.

[C] pi^{44} tsa^{53} = completed action.

'He (the old man) yelled, "Return, come back quickly; return, come back quickly!" and called the soldiers back.'
(དེ་ནས་རྒན་པོས)མྱུར་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག མྱུར་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཅེས་སྐད་བརྒྱབ་ནས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་བོས།
他(大声地)喊着: “快点回来, 快点回来!” 把兵都叫了回来。

(57)

te	ti	t^{h}ʁu	da	qæ	m̩	t^{h}ɛ	hĩ
DP	one	CL	only	dig	AVM	he	GEN
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	རྐོ་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
连词	一	*量词*	仅仅	挖	*副标*	他	*属格*

(58)

qo	t^{h}i	la	na q^{h}ʂ̥ə	na q^{h}ʂ̥ə	m̩	o	dʑy dʑy dʑy	ro
qo	DET	CL	black	black	AVM	there	come out	PT
ཀོའ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ནག་པོ	ནག་པོ	བྱེད་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ཕྱིར་མངོན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
命根子	*限词*	*量词*	黑黑	黑黑	*副标*	那儿	出来	*去时*

'(They) only dug for one moment and his black, black *qo*[11] came out there.'
(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཐུང་ཙམ་བརྐོས་རྗེས། ཁོའི་ནག་ཡེར་ཡེར་གྱི་ཀོའ་(སྦྲོག)དེ་ཕྱིར་མངོན་བྱུང་།
只挖了一会儿, 他的那根命根子就黑黑的(露)了出来。

(59)

te	ma	t^{h}i ki	ȵi	o	mi	nda	te
DP	soldier	these	ERG	there	GOAL	cut	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དམག	འདི་ཚོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	དེ་ན	ལས་ཚིག	གཅོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	兵	这些	*作格*	那儿	*目词*	砍	*连词*

(60)

ɕɛ	xwa tʰo	bo bo	m̩	mdʁu	o	lo	dʑy	te
blood	xwa tʰo	as size	AVM	gush	there	GOAL	come	DP
ཁྲག	ཧུ་ཐུང	ཆེ་ཆུང་འདྲ་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	འཕྱུར་བ	འདི་ན	ལས་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
血	黄桶	一样粗	*副标*	涌出	那儿	*目词*	来	*连词*

(61)

ma	tʰi ki	o ba	tʰi	ti	n̠ʑi	ɕɛ	n̠ʑi	ʂə qo	pi tsa
soldier	these	all	DET	one	day	blood	ERG	die	finish
དམག	འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	ངེས་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཉིན	ཁྲག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཤི་བ	ཚར་བ
兵	这些	全部/都	*限词*	一	天	血	*作格*	死	完

'These soldiers cut (it) there and blood the size of *xwa*[11] *tʰo*[44A] gushed up there and all the soldiers were dead (drowned) by the blood that day.'

དེ་ནས་དམག་དེ་ཚོས་(སྟ་རེས་ནག་ཡེར་ཡེར་གྱི་ཀོའི་སྒོག་དེ་)བཅད་པ་ན་ཧུ་ཐུང་གི་གཏོས་དང་མཉམ་པའི་ཁྲག་ཕྱིར་འཕྱུར་ཡོང་སྟེ། དམག་ཚང་མ་ཁྲག་གིས་(བསྣུབས་ནས་)ཤི་བ་རེད།

然后，这些兵(用刀)往那儿一砍就涌出了一股黄桶[B]般粗的血，那天，那些兵都被(阿坯冉呷的)血淹死了。

(62)

a mi	ʁa tsa ʁu mæ	tʰi	la	dʑa qʰʂə	rə qa	m̩
now	ʁa tsa ʁu mæ	DET	CL	soil	stone	AVM
ད་ལྟ	ཨ་ཙྪ་བྷུ་མཱ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ས	རྡོ	བྱེད་ཚིག
现在	哈杂布玛	*限词*	*量词*	土	石	*副标*

[A] *xwa*[11] *tʰo*[53] = a large container shaped like a column that stores rice chaff, rice, corn, wheat or buckwheat.

[B] 一种半径 1 米左右的木制容器。

(63)

tʰi	ti	ȵi	tʰɛ	ɕɛ	ȵi	zə̢	su	dja	le
DET	one	day	he	blood	ERG	paint	GEN	BE	MP
ངེས་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཉིན	ཁོ	ཁྲག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཚོན་འབྱུག་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
限词	一	天	他	血	*作格*	染	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'(It was) said now all the soil and stones of ʁa[11] tsa[11] bu[44] mæ[44] (Mountain) were painted by his blood on that one day (which explains their red color).'

ད་ལྟ་ཡ་ཙྭ་བྷུ་སྨ་(རི་བོ་)སྟེང་གི་ས་རྡོ་(དམར་པོ་ཡིན་པའང་)ཚང་མ་ཉིན་དེར་ཁོའི་ཁྲག་གིས་བྱུགས་པས་སོ།

说是现在的这座哈杂布玛山上(红色)的土和石都是那一天被他的血染成的。

(64)

qo	tʰjo	ȵi	nda	mi ŋga[A]	ȵu	te
qo	they	ERG	cut	SUF-COM	after	DP
ཀོའ	ཁོ་ཚོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	གཅོད་པ	འདས་རྗེས	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
命根子	他们	*作格*	砍	*后体*	后	*连词*

(65)

mæ	te	gʏ̩ mə˞	tʰi	la	mæ	ro
after	DP	body	DET	CL	catch	PT
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལུས་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཛིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
后	*连词*	身体	*限词*	*量词*	抓	*去时*

'After they cut the *qo[11]* then (they) started to (chase and) catch the body.'

ཁོ་ཚོས་ཀོའ་བཅད་ཚར་རྗེས་ལུས་པོ་འཛིན་བཟུང་བྱས།

命根子被他们砍掉后,抓(他的)身体。

[A] *mi[11] ŋga[11]* = signifies an action is completed.

(66)

gy̩ mɚ	tʰi	la	mæ	ha	ræ	mæ	ma	pʰa
body	DET	CL	catch	also	PRE-ATT	catch	NEG	able
ལུས་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཛིན་པོ	ཀྱང	འདས་སྔོན	འཛིན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ
身体	*限词*	*量词*	抓	也	*前体*	抓	*否定*	能

'(They started to chase and) catch the body but also (they were) unable to catch (him).'
(ཁོ་ཚོ་)ལུས་པོའི་(རྗེས་དེད་)ཀྱང་འཛིན་བཟུང་བྱེད་མ་ཐུབ།
抓身体也抓不到。

(67)

tʰɛ	te	a mi	ŋæ lu tʂʰa	ŋu	tʰi qy̩	mɛ ljo	ndo[A]	su	dja	ji
he	DP	now	ŋæ lu tʂʰa	call	LOC	eye	see	GEN	BE	say
ཁོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་ལྟ	ཛ་ལུ་ཁྲ	འབོད་པ	གནས་གཞི	མིག	མཐོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	བཤད
他	*连词*	现在	安路岔	叫	*位格*	眼睛	看见	*属格*	*判断*	说

'It was said he was born in the place now called ŋæ^{44} lu^{11} tʂʰa^{11}.'
ཁོ་རང་ད་ལྟའི་ཛ་ལུ་ཁྲ་རུ་འབོད་པའི་སར་སྐྱེས་པར་བཤད།
传说, 他是出生在现在叫安路岔的那个地方。

(68)

tʰi qy̩	tɕʰə ta	qʰo pa	le	ta ji	do mo	tʰi	ɴɢæ
LOC	from	chase	DP	ta ji	above	GOAL	jump over
གནས་གཞི	ནས	བདའ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཏྭ་ཡ	ཐོག་ཏུ	ལས་ཚིག	རྒལ་བ
位格	从	追	*连词*	达亚	上面	*目词*	过

'(He was) chased from that place (ŋæ^{44} lu^{11} tʂʰa^{11}) and jumped over above ta^{11} ji^{11} (Mountain).'
(ཁོ་རང་)ས་དེ་ནས་བདས་ནས་ཏྭ་ཡ་(རི་བོའི་)ཕར་བརྒལ་བ་རེད།
(君王家的兵)从那个地方追, 经过达亚山。

[A] *mɛ^{53} ljo^{53} ndo^{53}* = 'eyes see' or 'born'.

(69)

t^{h}ɛ	hĩ	mo	te	ti	lo	te
he	GEN	horse	DP	one	CL	DP
ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	རྟ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
他	*属格*	马	*连词*	一	*量词*	*连词*

(70)

ti	qæ qæ	da	dʙu	qʏ̩	ji	so
one	step	only	become	usually	say	MP
གཅིག	གོམ་པ	ཁོ་ན	འགྱུར་བ	རྒྱུན་པར	བཤད	ཚིག་སྟེགས
一	步	仅仅	成为	会	说	*语气*

'It is said that usually one valley became only one step of his horse.'
རྒྱུན་པར་ལུང་པ་གཅིག་ཁོའི་རྟ་ཡི་གོམ་པ་གཅིག་ཁོ་ནའི་ཚད་ལས་མེད་པར་བཤད།
据说, 他的(骏)马一步可以越过一条山沟。

(71)

NGæ	le	t^{h}o lo[A]	to	te	ma k^{h}o lo	t^{h}i	NGæ
jump	DP	t^{h}o lo	reach	DP	ma k^{h}o lo	GOAL	jump
རྐལ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོའོ་ལོའོ	ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ	ལས་ཚིག	རྐལ་བ
过	*连词*	鸵洛	到达	*连词*	玛阔洛	*目词*	过

'After jumping over and reaching t^{h}o^{11} lo^{11} then (a^{53} p^{h}i^{53} ræ^{53} NGæ^{53}) jumped over ma^{53} k^{h}o^{44} lo^{11}.'
ཕར་བརྐལ་ནས་ཐོའོ་ལོའོ་རུ་བསླེབས་རྗེས་(ཁོ་རང་)མ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ་བརྐལ།
(越)过了鸵洛就（越）过玛阔洛。

[A] t^{h}o^{11} lo^{11} ＝ Langhuan Township, Xichang City.

(72)

ma kʰo lo	a mi	tʰɛ	hĩ	mo	mɛ rə	ha	ndʑɛ	sə
ma kʰo lo	now	he	GEN	horse	footprint	here	EXT	still
མྣ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ	ད་ལྟ	ཁོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	རྟ	རྐང་རྗེས	འདི་ན	*ལས་མཐུན*	ད་རུང
玛阔洛	现在	他	*属格*	马	痕迹	这儿	*存在*	还

'Now his horse's footprints are still here in ma[53] kʰo[53] lo[11] (on a stone).'
ད་ལྟ་མྣ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ་རུ་ཁོའི་རྟའི་རྐང་རྗེས་(ད་རུང་)ཡོད།
现在他的(骏)马的脚印还留在玛阔洛(的岩石上)。

(73)

ma kʰo lo	ga	le	tɕʰi m̩ ko	tʰi	to
ma kʰo lo	pass	DP	tɕʰi m̩ ko	GOAL	reach
མྣ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ	རྒལ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཆི་མི་ཀོ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཐོན་པ
玛阔洛	经过	*连词*	齐木高	*目词*	到达

'(He) passed by ma[53] kʰo[44] lo[11] and reached tɕʰi[53] m̩[11] ko[44].'
མྣ་ཁོའོ་ལོའོ་བརྒལ་ནས་ཆི་མུ་ཀོ་རུ་ཐོན།
(越)过玛阔洛后到达齐木高。

(74)

tɕʰi m̩ ko	tɕʰə ta	lu ma	tʰi	to	te
tɕʰi m̩ ko	from	lu ma	GOAL	reach	DP
ཆི་མུ་ཀོ	ནས	ལུའུ་མྣ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཐོན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
齐木高	从	路玛	*目词*	到达	*连词*

(75)

mɛ ru	ræ	ro	ka	li to	tɕo kæ	lo	ŋu	ka
footprint	find	PT	DP	find	foot/footprint	MP	say	DP
རྐང་རྗེས	ཐོབ་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཐོབ་པ	རྐང་རྗེས	*ཚིག་སྐྱེགས*	བཤད	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
足迹	得到	*去时*	*连词*	得到	足迹	*语气*	说	*连词*

(76)

va	te	a mi	lu ma	da	li tʂo	ji	su	dja	le
Han	DP	now	lu ma	DAT	Lizhou	say/call	GEN	BE	MP
རྒྱ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་ལྟ	ལུའུ་མ	ལ་དོན	ལི་གྲོག	ཟེར	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
汉族	*连词*	现在	路玛	*与格*	礼州	说	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'From tɕ^{h}i^{53} m̩^{11} ko^{44} (he went on) and reached lu^{11} ma^{44} then (the Han soldiers who were pursuing him) found his footprints, (and the Han soldiers) said, "(We) found (his) footprints," so now Han call lu^{11} ma^{44} Lizhou.'[A]

ཆི་མུ་ཀོ་ནས་ལུའུ་མར་ཐོན་པ་ན་(རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་ཁོའི་)རྐང་རྗེས་རྙེད་པ་དང་། (དེ་ནས་བཟུང་)ད་ལྟ་ས་ཆ་དེར་ལི་གྲོག་ཞེས་འབོད་པ་རེད།

从齐木到达路玛（今礼州）的时候, (君王家的兵)找到了(阿坯冉呷的)足迹, 说: “找到足迹了,” 并给路玛这个地方取名为礼州。

(77)

te	la ga	ɕi xwa	lo	ɕy	te
DP	LOC	ɕi xwa	GOAL	went	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གནས་གཞི	ཞིང་ཧྭ	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	*位格*	新华	*目词*	去/来	*连词*

(78)

ɕi ɕi tsa tsa	m̩	ʁu pʁu	ro	ka	ɕi xua	ŋu
new	AVM	meet	PT	DP	Xinhua	say
གསར་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	འཕྲད་པ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞིང་ཧྭ	བཤད་པ
新	*副标*	遇见	*去时*	*连词*	新华	说

'(They) went (further) up in the area and then met new (footprints) so (they) called (that place) Xinhua.'[B]

དེ་ནས་ཡར་ཞིང་ཧྭར་ཕྱིན་པ་ན། (ཁོ་ཚོས་རྐང་རྗེས་)གསར་བ་རྙེད་པས་(ད་ལྟ་ས་ཆ་དེ་ལ་)ཞིང་ཧྭ་ཟེར་བ་རེད།

然后, (他们)来到新华时, 又遇见了(阿坯冉呷的)新(足迹)就叫(那地方) '新华'。

[A] In Sichuan Chinese Dialect, the pronunciation of *li* 礼 suggests 'found something' which explains why Lizhou 礼州 was so named.

[B] 新华. 新 ＝ new; 华 ＝ Han (as in Han Chinese): fancy, beautiful.

(79)

ɕy	le	lo kỵ	to	ɕy	te	lo tɕ^{h}u	lo	ŋu	ka
went	DP	lo kỵ	reach	went	DP	lose	MP	say	DP
ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལུའུ་ཀུའུ	ཐོན་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བོར་བ	ཚིག་རྫོགས	ཟེར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
去/来	*连词*	泸古	到	去/来	*连词*	丢失	*语气*	说	*连词*

(80)

a mi	va	lo kỵ	t^{h}i	q^{h}ỵ	ha	tɕ^{h}ə ta	dʑy	su
now	Han	lo kỵ	DET	word	here	from	come	GEN
ད་ལྟ	རྒྱ	ལུའུ་ཀུའུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ནས	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
现在	汉族	泸古	*限词*	句	这儿	从	来	*属格*

'(They) went and went (on) and reaching lu^{11} kỵ^{53} then (they lost the footprints) so now the word (name) Lugu comes from here (this story).'[A]

(ཁོ་ཚོ་མུ་མཐུད་དུ་)ཕྱིན་ནས་ཡར་ལུའུ་ཀུའུ་རུ་ཐོན་པ་ན་(ཁོའི་རྐང་རྗེས་)བོར་བས་ད་ལྟར་རྒྱའི་ལུའུ་ཀུའུ་ཞེས་པའི་ཡུལ་མིང་ཡང་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་(དར་)བྱུང་བ་རེད།

(他们)到达泸古的时候, 再也找不到(阿坯冉呷的足迹), 所以现在汉语中的这个'泸古'名字就是从这里来的。

(81)

mæ	te	mæ qỵ	li	dʑy	ro
later	DP	catch	back	come	PT
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འཛིན་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	抓	回	来	*去时*

'Later (soldiers) caught him and came back.'

མཐའ་མར། (དམག་གིས་ཁོ་རང་)བཟུང་སྟེ་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་།

最后，(他们把阿坯冉呷)抓了回来。

[A] *lo^{11}* is similar in sound to *luo* 落 in Sichuan Chinese Dialect, which means 'lose', thus the place was called lo^{11} kỵ^{53}. It is Lugu 泸沽 in Chinese.

(82)

ʂ̯u	rə	q^ha n̥i la	m̩	la	NGY̩ ta	le
metal	rope	several	AVM	OTM	tie	DP
ལྕགས	ཐག་པ	འགའ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	འཆིང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
铁	链子	很多	*副标*	*宾标*	捆	*连词*

(83)

ha	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ	li	to	qa qa	ro qɣ̩	te
here	ʁa tsa ʙu mæ	back	reach	almost	LOC	DP
འདི་ན	ཨ་ཙྪ་ཧྦུ་སྨ	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	ཕལ་ཆེར	*གནས་གཞི*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
这儿	哈杂布玛	回	到达	快要	*位格*	*连词*

(84)

jo	ndzə bo	fa	ŋu	ka	$tɕ^hə$ $tɕ^hə$	ndzə bo	tɛ
SELF	water	thirsty	say	DP	release/let	water	drink
རང་ཉིད	ཆུ	སྐོམ་པ	ཟེར	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	འཇུག་པ	ཆུ	འཐུང་བ
自己	水	口渴	说	*连词*	使/让	水	喝

'(The soldiers) took several metal ropes (chains) tied him and (came) back to the place (and when they had) almost reached ʁa^{11} tsa^{11} bu^{44} mæ^{44} (Mountain he) said, "I am thirsty for water," so (they) let (him) drink water.'

(དམག་མིས་)ལྕགས་ཐག་འགའ་ཁྱེར་(ཡོང་ནས་ཁོ་རང་)བཅིངས་པ་དང་། ཕྱིར་ཨ་ཙྪ་ཧྦུ་སྨར་ཐོན་ལ་ཉེ་སྐབས་ཁོས་ང་རང་སྐོམ་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད་པ་ན་(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཁོ་ལ་ཆུ་འཐུང་དུ་བཅུག

用很多铁链子捆着，快回到哈杂布玛山的时候，(阿坯冉呷)说：“我口渴得很,” (押解他的士兵)就让(他)喝水。

(85)

te	a wa[A]	o	mi	ndzə̧	qʏ̩	te
DP	MP	there	GOAL	drink	know	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚིག་སྐྱིགས	འདི་ན	ལས་ཚིག	འཐུང་བ	ཤེས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	*语气*	那儿	*目词*	喝	知道	*连词*

(86)

li	lo tɕə	ma	qʏ̩	ro
back	stand	NEG	know	PT
ཕྱིར	ལངས་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
回	起来	*否定*	知道	*去时*

(87)

ma	ʁa	ro	ŋu	o	mi	lɔ	ɕy	te
NEG	OK	PT	say	there	GOAL	look	went	DP
དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཟེར	འདི་ན	ལས་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
否定	好	*去时*	说	那儿	*目词*	看	去	*连词*

(88)

rə bi	ȵi	la	qʰa tsa	qʰa qɚ ta	m̩
dragon	two	CL	mouth	wide open	AVM
འབྲུག	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁ	ཆེས་ཆེར་གདང་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག
龙	二	*量词*	嘴	张开	*副标*

(89)

tʰɛ	lo	ho	qa qa	ro
he	GOAL	swallow	almost	PT
ཁོ	ལས་ཚིག	མིད་པ	ཕལ་ཆེར	འདས་ཚིག
他	*目词*	咽	快要	*去时*

[A] *a^{44} wa^{55}* = an expression of surprise.

'Then, a^{44} wa^{55}, (he put his head) down to drink (and he drank and drank and didn't) know (how to stop), didn't know (how to) stand back up again (because he was drinking and drinking), so (the soldiers) said, "It is not OK," and (the soldiers) went to look (into the water and there were) two dragons that had almost swallowed him with their wide-open mouths.'
ཨ། དེ་ནས་(ཁོས་)མགོ་བོ་མར་སྨུར་ནས་ཆུ་འཐུང་ནས་མཚམས་འཛོག་མ་ནུས། དམག་མི་ཚོས་(གནས་ཚུལ་)ཡག་པོ་མི་འདུག་བསམས་སྟེ་ལྟ་རུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ན་ཁ་ཆེས་ཆེར་གདངས་པའི་འབྲུག་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཁྱེར་མིད་བྱས་པ་(མཐོང་)།
噢, (他)知道喝(水)就不知道(抬)起(头)来, 他们说: “不对呀!" 往(水里)看时有两条龙正张开大大的嘴巴快要把他吞下去了。

(90)

te	ti	tʰʁu	li	ma	ndo	ɕy
DP	one	CL	back	NEG	see	if
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	མཐོང་བ	གལ་ཏེ
连词	一	*量词*	回	*否定*	见	如果

(91)

rə bi	n̥i	mi	ho	bɛ	ro	ji	le
dragon	ERG	GOAL	swallow	go	PT	say	MP
འབྲུག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ལས་ཚིག	མིད་པ	འགྲོ་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཟེར	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
龙	*作格*	*目词*	咽	走	*去时*	说	*语气*

'(It is) said he would have been swallowed down by the dragons if (the soldiers) had not seen it one moment (before it would have happened).'
གལ་ཏེ་(དམག་མི་ཚོས་)དུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་དེ་མ་མཐོང་ན་(ཁོ་)འབྲུག་གིས་ཁྱེར་མིད་བྱེད་ངེས་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད་པར་གྲགས།
说是如果再延误一会儿的话, (他)就要被龙吞下去了.

(92)

te	ma	ʁa	ro	ma	ʁa	ro	ŋu
DP	NEG	OK	PT	NEG	OK	PT	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
连词	*否定*	好	*去时*	*否定*	好	*去时*	说

(93)

ka	ʂ̥u	rə	lo	li	tɕə	ka
DP	metal	rope	GOAL	back	pull	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྕགས	ཐག་པ	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འཐེན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	铁	链	*目词*	回	拉/押解	*连词*

(94)

tɕə	li	ɕy	ɕə ɕə	mi ŋga	su	dja	le
pull	back	went	make[A]	SUF-COM	GEN	BE	MP
འཐེན་པ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	བཟོ་བ	འདས་རྗེས	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
拉	回	去	做/杀	*后体*	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'Then (the soldiers) said, "It is not OK, it is not OK," and pulled back up the metal ropes (chains), pulled (him) and went back (to the lord's place), and killed him.'

དེ་ནས་(དམག་མི་ཚོས་)དེ་ཡག་པོ་མི་འདུག ཡག་པོ་མི་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད་ནས་ལྕགས་ཐག་ཡར་འཐེན་པ་དང་། ཕྱིར་(རྒྱལ་པོའི་)དྲུང་དུ་སོང་ནས་(ཁོ་རང་)བསད་པ་རེད།

然后, (他们慌乱地)说: “不好了, 不好了,” 马上往上拉铁链, 押解回去后把他杀了。

[A] 'make out' = to kill.

THE RELIGIOUS SPECIALIST li^{44} ʙu^{55} ta^{11} ndi^{44}

li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53}

(1)

i n̥i a ʂə	na	li ʙu	ɕɛ	te
ancient	we	li ʙu	family	DP
གནའ་སྔ་མོ	ང་ཚོ	ལའི་ཟྙོ	ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
古代	我们	里布	家	*连词*

(2)

li ʙu	ta ndi	ŋu	ta	ti	gy̩	ɕə za	lo
li ʙu	ta ndi	say	like this	one	CL	mystical	MP
ལའི་ཟྙོ	ཟླ་ཏྲི	ཟེར	འདི་འདྲ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ནུས་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	ཚིག་རྫོགས
里布	达帝	说	这样	一	*量词*	神勇	*语气*

'In ancient (times), one person, our li^{44} ʙu^{55}'s family, called li^{44} ʙu^{55} ta^{11} ndi^{11}, was said to be mystical like this.'

གནའ་སྔ་མོར། ང་ཚོ་ལའི་ཟྙོ་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུད་ལ་(མིང་ལ་)ལའི་ཟྙོ་ཟླ་ཏྲི་ཟེར་བའི་མི་ནུས་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་ལྡན་ཞིག་ཡོད།

古时候, 我们里布家有一个神勇的人叫里布达帝。

(3)

te	pi	to	le	t^{h}ɛ	go	q^{h}y̩[A]	te	go	dʑy
DP	do ritual	expert	DP	he	what	call	DP	what	come
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པ	ཆེད་མཁས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ཅི་ཞིག	འབོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	ཡོང་བ
连词	做法事	精通	*连词*	他	什么	叫	*连词*	什么	来

[A] *q^{h}y̩* = 'to call'. A powerful *p^{h}a^{53} tsə^{53}* is able to summon ɕi^{53} vi^{53} and such wild animals as deer, wild pigs and ghosts.

(4)

go	pi	te	go	dʁu
what	do ritual	DP	what	change
ཅི་ཞིག	ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	འགྱུར་བ
什么	做法事	*连词*	什么	变成

'Then, he was expert at doing religious activity and what he called (during his religious activity), then what came and what he did (during his) religious activity then (that is) what changed.[A]

(ཁོ་)ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པར་མཁས་ལ། (ཁོས་)ཅི་ཞིག་བོས་ན་དེ་ཡོང་བ་དང་། ཅི་བྱས་ན་དེ་ལ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་བྱུང་ངེས།

(他)精通于做法事, 叫什么, 什么就来, 做什么法事都能如愿以偿。

(5)

za[B]	go	q^hɣ̩	te	go	dʑy
za	what	call	DP	what	come
ཟླ[C]	ཅི་ཞིག	འབོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	ཡོང་བ
洒	什么	呼叫	*连词*	什么	来

[A] A capable p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$ is able to change things, e.g., make an ill person well, make a healthy person sick and bring such disasters to a family that ensure their crops will fail, that illness comes to family members and that their livestock suddenly die.

[B] A za^{11} is a manifestation of ɕi[53] vi[53] and is about the size of a round bean. There are various za^{11}. A p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$ often summons za^{11} to help during rituals. If a p^ha^{53} $tsə^{53}$ is very powerful, many za^{11} come as he chants. li[44] ʁu[55] ʂə[11] pə[53] (b. 1941) said that za^{11} fall one after another in front of the container when he chants, if he is powerful.

[C] སྒྲ་བསྒྱུར་ཏེ། ལྷ་དང་གཞི་བདག་སོགས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་འགྱུར་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ལྷ་རྫས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཤིག

(6)

ti	ʂə[A]	ȵu	te	ti	ʂə	tʰɛ	ȵi	qʰɣ̣	dʑy
one	CL	need	DP	one	CL	he	ERG	call	come
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དགོས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འབོད་པ	ཡོང་བ
一	*量词*	需要	*连词*	一	*量词*	他	*作格*	呼叫	来

(7)

ti	ma qʰa[B]	ȵu	te	ti	ma qʰa	tʰɛ	ȵi	qʰɣ̣	dʑy
one	CL	need	DP	one	CL	he	ERG	call	come
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དགོས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འབོད་པ	ཡོང་བ
一	*量词*	需要	*连词*	一	*量词*	他	*作格*	呼叫	来

'What *za*^{11} (he) called, then what (*za*^{11}) came and if (he) needed one *ʂə*^{44} (of *za*^{11}), then one *ʂə*^{44} (of *za*^{11}) was called and came because of his (chanting) and if (he) needed one *ma*^{11} *qʰa*^{53} (of *za*^{11}), then one *ma*^{11} *qʰa*^{53} (of *za*^{11}) was called and came because of his (chanting).'

(ཁོས་)ཟྭ་གང་ཞིག་བོས་ན་དེ་ཡོང་བ་དང་(ཟྭ)ཧྲི་གཅིག་དགོས་ན་ཧྲི་གཅིག་ཡོང་ལ། (ཟྭ་)མ་ཁྭ་གཅིག་དགོས་ན་མ་ཁྭ་གཅིག་ཡོང་།

呼什么洒，什么洒就来，需要一氏(洒)的话，一氏(洒能)被他叫来，需要一码卡[C]的话，一码卡(能)被他叫来。

(8)

te	mæ	te	ndʑy mo	ɕɛ	lo
DP	later	DP	ndʑy mo	family	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱལ་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
连词	后	*连词*	君王	家	*语气*

[A] *ʂə*^{44} = is a measure word used in conjunction with *ʂə*^{53} *ndzə*^{53} or a wooden container for storing rice, corn, wheat or barley. The *ʂə*^{53} *ndzə*^{53} is commonly used as a measure. It is convenient to use when borrowing and returning grain from nearby households. In 2006, most households no longer owned *ʂə*^{53} *ndzə*^{53}.

[B] A *ma*^{11} *qʰa*^{53} is a container woven from long bamboo strips and used to store cooked rice.

[C] 一种竹制容器。

'Then later, (about) ndʑy^{53} mo^{44}'s[A] family...'
དེ་ནས་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གི་(སྐོར་)རེད།
后来是因为君王家(他的人生就改变了)。

(9)

va	tʰi	jy	tʰɛ	ndzə ʁo	zə	ka
Han	DET	CL	he	right/power	fight for power	DP
རྒྱ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	དབང་ཆ	འཕྲོག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
汉族	*限词*	*量词*	他	权利	争夺	*连词*

(10)

qʰa ɲ̥i ɲ̥i	m̩	ndʑy mo	ʑi	da	kʰy̩ kʰy̩
often	AVM	king	son	DAT	provoke
ནམ་ཡང	བྱེད་ཚིག	རྒྱལ་པོ	བུ	ལ་དོན	འཁྲུག་རྐྱེན་སློང་བ
总是	*副标*	君王	儿子	*与格*	挑衅

'A Han family was fighting for power, often provoking the king's son.'
རྒྱའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་གིས་དབང་ཆ་འཕྲོག་བསམས་བས་རྒྱུན་པར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་དང་འཁྲུག་རྐྱེན་བསླངས།
汉族(想)争夺他(君王家)的权利, 就总是向王子挑战。

(11)

te	mæ	te	va	ɲ̥i	nu	hĩ	ʂ̥u	mo mo	tʰi	ly	na
DP	later	DP	Han	ERG	you	GEN	metal	hat	DET	CL	and
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཁྱོད	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ལྕགས	ཞྭ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	དང
连词	后来	*连词*	汉族	*作格*	你	*属格*	铁	帽子	*限词*	*量词*	和

[A] ndʑy^{53} mo^{53} = a powerful Han family living at the same time as li^{44} ʁu^{55} ta^{11} ndi^{11}.

(12)

ŋo	hĩ	ȵo	mo mo	t^{h}i	ly
our	GEN	grass	hat	DET	CL
ང་ཚོ་	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ་	རྩྭ་	ཞྭ་མོ་	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག
我们	*属格*	草	帽子	*限词*	*量词*

(13)

la	ha ndzə	do mo	t^{h}i	tɕ^{h}ə	q^{h}a	gɣ̩	hĩ
OTM	lake	above	GOAL	put	who	CL	GEN
ཡུལ་ཚིག	མཚོ་	ཐོག་ཏུ	ལས་ཚིག	འཇོག་པ	སུ	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ
宾标	湖	上面	*目词*	放	谁	*量词*	*属格*

(14)

a hĩ	za	ma	bɛ	su	q^{h}a	gɣ̩	ndzə ʁo	pa	di
down	GOAL	NEG	go/sink	GEN	who	CL	power	take	say
མར	ལས་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲོ་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སུ	ཚད་ཚིག	དབང་ཆ	འཛིན་ཆ	བཤད་པ
低下	*目词*	*否定*	走	*属格*	谁	*量词*	权利	拿	说

'Then later the Han (people) said, "Take your metal hat and our grass hat and put (them) onto (above) the lake and whose (hat) doesn't sink down (into the lake) will take the power."'

དེ་ནས་རྗེས་སུ། རྒྱ་མིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་ཞྭ་མོ་དང་ང་ཚོའི་རྩྭའི་ཞྭ་མོ་འདི་གཉིས་མཚོ་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཇོག སུའི་ཞྭ་མོ་མར་མ་ནུབ་ན་སུ་ཡིས་དབང་ཆ་འཛིན་ཞེས་བཤད།

汉人(对君王家的儿子)说："(我们把)你的那个铁帽和我们的草帽往湖里放，谁的不沉底谁就掌握权利。"

(15)

ndʑy mo	hĩ	mo mo	t^{h}i	ly	te
king	GEN	hat	DET	CL	DP
རྒྱལ་པོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཞྭ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
君王	*属格*	帽子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(16)

ti	tʙu	n̥i	hĩ	kʰi	zə	su	dja	ji	le
one	thousand	two	hundred	CL	weigh	GEN	BE	say	MP
གཅིག	སྟོང	གཉིས	རྒྱ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	བཤད	ཚིག་རྫོགས
一	千	二	百	*量词*	重	*属格*	*判断*	说	*语气*

'It was said the king's hat weighed 1,200 *jin*.'

རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞྭ་མོའི་ལྗིད་ཚད་ནི་རྒྱ་མ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་གཅིག་དང་གཉིས་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་པར་གྲགས།

据说, 君王的帽子有一千二百斤重。

(17)

va	hĩ	te	n̥o	mo mo	n̥i	kʰi	ha	ma	dʑo
Han	GEN	DP	grass	hat	two	CL	also/even	NEG	EXT
རྒྱ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྩྭ	ཞྭ་མོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན
汉族	*属格*	*连词*	草	帽子	二	*量词*	也	*否定*	*存在*

'The Han's grass hat was not even two *jin*.'

རྒྱའི་རྩྭ་ཞྭའི་(ལྗིད་ཚད་)རྒྱ་མ་དོ་ཡང་མེད།

而汉族的草帽子却两斤都没有。

(18)

va	tʰi ki	te
Han	these	DP
རྒྱ	འདི་ཚོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
汉族	这些	*连词*

(19)

tʰɛ	hĩ	te	zə	nda	ka	a hĩ	za	bɛ	ʁæ	ŋu
he	GEN	DP	heavy	very	DP	down	GOAL	go	FT	think
ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྗིད་པ	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མར	ལས་ཚིག	འགྲོ	མ་འོངས་པ	བསམ་པ
他	*属格*	*连词*	重	非常	*连词*	低下	*目词*	走	*未时*	认为

'These Han thought that his (the lord's hat) was very heavy and would go (sink) down.'

རྒྱ་འདི་ཚོས་ཁོའི་(ཞྭ་མོ་)ནི་ཧ་ཅང་ལྗིད་པས་མར་བྱིངས་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་རེད་བསམས།

汉人认为他的帽子非常的沉重, 所以会沉下去。

(20)

te	va	ȵi	m̩	ɕy
DP	Han	ERG	cheat	went
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མགོ་སྐོར་གཏོང་བ	ཕྱིན་པ
连词	汉族	*作格*	欺骗	去

'Then (the lord) was cheated by the Han and went (to the lake where they had prearranged everything).'

དེ་ནས་(རྒྱལ་པོ་)ལ་རྒྱ་ཡིས་མགོ་བསྐོར་བཏང་ནས་(མཚོ་ཁར་)ཕྱིན།

这样, (君王家)被汉族骗(到湖边)去了。

(21)

ti	ȵi	m̩[A]	lo	ha
one	day	AVM	wait	DP
གཅིག	ཉིན	བྱེད་ཚིག	བསྒུག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
一	天	*副标*	等待	*连词*

(22)

va	hĩ	mo mo	ma	dʑo gi	ro	ha
Han	GEN	hat	NEG	EXT	PT	DP
རྒྱ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཞྭ་མོ	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
汉族	*属格*	帽子	*否定*	*存在*	*去时*	*连词*

[A] *ti*^{11} *ȵi*^{11} = one day. *ti*^{11} *ȵi*^{11} *m̩*^{11} = all day.

(23)

t^hɛ	hĩ	te	a hĩ	za	bɛ	ma	na
he	GEN	DP	down	GOAL	go	NEG	want/would
ཁོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མར	ལས་ཚིག	འགྲོ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ
他	*属格*	*连词*	下	*目词*	走	*否定*	想/肯

'(They) waited (for the metal hat to sink) all day but the Han hat disappeared, (while) his (the lord's hat) would not go down.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཉིན་གང་པོར་བསྒུགས་ལ་རྒྱའི་ཞྭ་མོ་དེ་མེད་པར་གྱུར་སོང་ཡང་། ཁོའི་(ཞྭ་མོ་དེ་)ད་རུང་མར་བྱིངས་མ་སོང་།

等了一整天后，汉族的帽子已经(从湖面)消失了，但是他（君王）的铁帽却不肯往下沉。

(24)

te	va	n̡i	ɴGʏ̩	kʏ̩	t^hi	gʏ̩	da
DP	Han	ERG	boat	row	DET	CL	DAT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	གྲུ་གཟིངས	གཏོང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལ་དོན
连词	汉族	*作格*	船	开	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*

(25)

m̩ ts^hə rə	t^hi	sa ts^hə	ka	ma ndo	la
lip	GOAL	give gesture	DP	paddle	OTM
མཆུ	ལས་ཚིག	བརྡ་གཏོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གྲུའི་སྐྱ་བ	ཡུལ་ཚིག
嘴唇	*目词*	姿势	*连词*	船浆	*宾标*

(26)

dʙu ka	mi	n̡a	te	o	za	ɕy	ro
brim	GOAL	press	DP	there	GOAL	went	PT
མཐའ	ལས་ཚིག	གནན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག
边缘	*目词*	压	*连词*	那儿	*目词*	去	*去时*

'Then the Han gestured (with his) lips to the paddler and (the paddler) used the paddle, pressed the brim (of the hat) and (the hat) went down there.'

དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཡིས་གྲུ་གཟིངས་གཏོང་མཁན་དེ་ལ་མཆུ་བརྡ་བཏང་བས་(གྲུ་གཏོང་མཁན་གྱིས་)གྲུ་སྐྱ་ཡིས་(ཞྭ་མོའི་)སྣེ་མོ་མར་མནན་པ་ན་དེ་མར་བྱིངས་པ་རེད།

这时，汉族人向那个划船的(人)做了个暗势，于是，(划船的人)用船浆把(铁帽的边沿)一压就(沉)了下去。

(27)

ha ndzə	te	a mi	o ndʐo	tɕʰoŋ xe[A]	tʰi	ly	dja	le
lake	DP	now	o ndʐo	tɕʰoŋ xe	DET	CL	BE	MP
མཚོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་ལྟ	ཨོ་འགྲོ	ཆང་ཧེད	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
湖	*连词*	现在/今天	西昌	邛海	*限词*	*量词*	*判断*	*语气*

'The lake is tɕʰoŋ[11] xe[11B] in o[53] ndʐo[53] now.'

མཚོ་དེ་ནི་ད་ལྟ་ཨོ་འགྲོ་ན་(ཡོད་པའི་)ཆང་ཧེད་མཚོ་མོ་རེད།

(这片)湖就是今天的西昌邛海。

(28)

te	ndʑy mo	ɕɛ	te	mɛ kʰa	ro
DP	king	family	DP	at a loss	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱལ་པོ	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	君王/君王	家	*连词*	没办法	*去时*

'The king's family was at a loss.'

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་ལ་ཐབས་ཟད་སོང་།

(面对眼前的情况,)君王家束手无策了。

[A] tɕʰoŋ[11] xæ[53] is in today's Xichang City.

(29)

te	rə gy̩	lɛ lɛ	m̩	tʰa ræ	ja
DP	road	along	AVM	paper	paste
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལམ་བུ	བརྒྱུད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཤོག་བུ	འབྱར་བ
连词	路	沿着	*副标*	纸	贴

'Then (the king's family) pasted a paper (announcing a search for someone who could get the metal hat from the lake) along the road.'

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གིས་ལམ་འགྲམ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བརྡ་ཐོ་ཞིག་སྦྱར་(ནས་ལྕགས་ཞྭ་མཚོ་ནང་ནས་ཡར་ལེན་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ཞིག་བཙལ)།

于是，(君王家)沿着道路(到处)贴布告(找个能从湖底将铁帽捞上来的人)。

(30)

qʰa	gy̩	jo	ʂ̥u	mo mo	li	ka	pʰa	su
who	CL	SELF	metal	hat	back	get	able	GEN
སུ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	རང་ཉིད	ལྕགས	ཞྭ་མོ	ཕྱིར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐུབ་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*
谁	*量词*	自己	铁	帽子	回	捞	能	*属格*

(31)

jo	ŋu	ɳ̥u	ŋu	ko	hæ̃	ɳ̥u	hæ̃	ko	ŋu
SELF	silver	require	silver	give	gold	require	gold	give	say
རང་ཉིད	གསེར	དགོས་པ	དངུལ	སྟེར་བ	གསེར	དགོས	གསེར	སྟེར་བ	བཤད
自己	银	需要	银	给	金	需要	金	给	说

'(The notice) said, "Who is able to get my metal hat (from the lake), then I will give silver (if the person) requires silver and I will give gold (if the person) requires gold."'

(བརྡ་སྦྱོར་སྟེང་དུ་འདི་ལྟར་འབྲི་ཡོད་དེ།) སུས་ངའི་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་ཞྭ་མོ་དེ་(མཚོ་ནང་ནས་)ཕྱིར་ལེན་ཐུབ་ན་ངས(མི་དེ་ལ་)གསེར་དངུལ་གང་འདོད་སྟེར་ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག

(布告上)说：“谁能(从湖里)捞回我的铁帽子的，(他)要银子我就给(他)银子，要金子就给金子。”

(32)

ta ndi	te	jo	mba	ŋu	ji	le
ta ndi	DP	SELF	able	say	say	MP
ཟླ་དྲི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	ཐུབ་པ	བཤད	བཤད	ཚིག་རྫོགས
达帝	*连词*	自己	能	说	传说	*语气*

'It was said that ta^{11} ndi^{11} said, "I am able (to do what they want)."'

ཟླ་དྲི་ཡིས་ང་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་(སྒྲུབ་)ཐུབ་ཞེས་ཟེར་བར་གྲགས།

传说, 达帝(见了布告后)就说: “我能(捞回那个铁帽)。”

(33)

te	ta ndi	ndzo̡	dʑy	ro
DP	ta ndi	call	come	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟླ་དྲི	འབོད་པ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	达帝	叫	来	*去时*

'Oh, then (the people of $ndʑy^{53}$ mo^{53}'s family) came to call ta^{11} ndi^{11} (to help them).'

ཨོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་མི་མངགས་ནས་ཟླ་དྲི་གདན་འདྲེན་བྱུས།

噢, 于是, (君王家派人)来邀请达帝。

(34)

mo	la	ta ndi	ndzo̡	ɕy	le	pi
horse	OTM	tan di	call	went	DP	do ritual
རྟ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ད་ཟླིས	འབོད་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པ
马	*宾标*	达帝	叫	去	*连词*	做法

'(They) used a horse to call ta^{11} ndi^{11} (then he) went to do rituals.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)རྟ་(ཞིག་ཁྲིད་ཡོང་ནས་)ཟླ་དྲི་བོས་ལ་དེ་ནས་ཟླ་དྲི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པར་ཕྱིན།

(他们)用马把达帝邀请去做法。

(35)

te	pi	le	za	ȵi	ko ʂə[A]
DP	do ritual	DP	za	two	CL
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟྭ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག
连词	做法	*连词*	洒	二	*量词*

(36)

tʰɛ	ȵi	qʰɣ̩	le	tʰɛ	hĩ	pi ʑi[B]	ko	ta
he	ERG	call	DP	he	GEN	apprentice	give	EXT
ཁོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	འབོད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	སློབ་ཕྲུག	སྟེར	*ལས་མཐུན*
他	*作格*	叫	*连词*	他	*属格*	徒弟	给	*存在*

(37)

jo	rə	ŋæ ŋæ	te	no	li	tɕə
SELF	rope	shake	DP	you	back	pull
རང་ཉིད	ཐག་པ	འགུལ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	ཕྱིར	འཐེན་པ
自己	绳子	摇动	*连词*	你	回	拉

(38)

jo	mo mo	ræ	la	tʰʁu	te	rə	ŋæ ŋæ	ŋu
SELF	hat	PRE-ATT	take/bring	when	DP	rope	shake	say
རང་ཉིད	ཞྭ་མོ	*འདས་སྔོན*	འཁྱེར་བ	སྐབས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཐག་པ	སྒུལ་བ	བཤད
自己	帽子	*前体*	拿	时候	*连词*	绳子	摇动	说

[A] *ko*^{44} *ʂə*^{55} = a container and measure twice the size of a *ʂə*^{53} *ndzə*^{53}.

[B] *pi*^{11} *ʑi*^{11} = apprentices/students of a *p*^{h}*a*^{53} *tsə*^{53} who assist him during rituals.

'(ta^{11} ndi^{11}) did rituals and called two *ko^{44} ʂə^{55}* of *za^{11}* and gave (them) to his apprentices and said, "You pull back the (rope) when I shake the rope and when (I) get a chance to take the hat then I will shake the rope."'

(ནྡཱ་ཏྲེས)ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་ནས་ཟ་ཀོ་ཧྲི་གཉིས་བོས་ཏེ་ཁོའི་སློབ་ཕྲུག་ལ་བྱིན་ཏེ་བཤད་རྒྱུར། (ངའི་ཐག་པ་)སྒྲུལ་དུས་ཁྱོད་ཚོས་ཐག་པ་ཕྱིར་ཐོན། ང་ལ་ཞྭ་མོ་འཁྱེར་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་ཐོབ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ངས་ཐག་པ་བསྒྲུལ་ངེས་ཡིན་ཞེས་བཤད།

(达帝开始)做法, 呼了两锅氏酒给他的做法弟子, 并(再三)嘱咐: “我在(底下)摇绳子的时候, 你们往上拉, 我拿到帽子后就会摇动绳子。”

(39)

zə	rə	qʰa mɚ ta	vi	ta
straw	rope	many	roll	EXT
རྩྭ་	ཐག་པ	མང་པོ	བརྒྱུ་བ	*ལས་མཐུན*
稻草	绳子	很多	编制	*存在*

'(They) rolled[A] many straw ropes.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)རྩྭ་ཐག་མང་པོ་བརྒྱུས།

(弟子们)编织了很多草绳。

(40)

jo	te	ʂə qo	ɕy	te	za	tʰi ki	tʁy qʰæ	le
SELF	DP	die	if	DP	za	these	crush	DP
རང་ཉིད	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཤི་བ	གལ་ཏེ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཟ་	འདི་ཚོ	རྡུག་གེར་གཏོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
自己	*连词*	死	假如	*连词*	洒	这些	碾碎	*连词*

[A] Plant materials such as wheat and rice straw are rolled into lengths that are then made into rope.

(41)

jo	me ljo	na	n̥a ŋga	ʁo	tɕ^{h}ə	ŋu
SELF	eye	and	nose	LOC	put	say
རང་ཉིད	མིག	དང	སྣ་	*གནས་གཞི*	འཇོག་པ	བཤད་པ
自己	眼睛	和	鼻子	*位格*	放	说

'(He) also said, "If I die, then crush these *za*[11] and put (them) into my eyes and nose.'

(གོས་)ད་རུང་བཤད་རྒྱུར། གལ་ཏེ་ང་ཤི་ན། ཟྭ་འདི་ཚོ་ཧྲུག་གེར་བཏང་ནས་ངའི་མིག་དང་སྣ་ནང་དུ་འཇོག་རོགས་ཞེས་བཤད།

(他)还(对弟子们)说:“假如我死了的话，把这些洒碾碎，放入我的眼睛和鼻子里。”

(42)

ʂə	n̥i	ʂə	ha	m̩
seven	day	seven	night	AVM
བདུན	ཉིན	བདུན	མཚན་མོ	*ཕྲད་ཚིག*
七	天	七	夜	*副标*

(43)

zə	rə	t^{h}i ki	vi	le	dʑy	ɴɢʏ̩ ta	ka
straw	rope	these	roll	DP	waist	tie	DP
རྩྭ་	ཐག་པ	འདི་ཚོ	བརྒྱུ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྐེད་པ	འཆིང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
草	绳	这些	织	*连词*	腰	系	*连词*

(44)

tɕ^{h}ə tɕ^{h}ə	ha ndzə	mi	tɕ^{h}ə	su	dja
release/put	lake	GOAL	SUF-COM	GEN	BE
འཇོག་པ	མཚོ	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	*ནི་སྒྲ*
让	湖	*目词*	*后体*	*属格*	*判断*

'(They) rolled these grass ropes[A] for seven days and seven nights, then tied (the ropes around his) waist and put (him) down into the lake.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་)ཉིན་ཞག་བདུན་ལ་རྩྭ་ཐག་བརྒྱུས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་ཁོའི་སྐེད་པ་དེ་དག་གིས་བསྡམས་ནས་(ཁོ་)མཚོ་ནང་དུ་མར་འགྲོ་རུ་བཅུག

七天七夜里, (弟子们不分昼夜地)编草绳, 然后, 系在(达帝的)腰上, 让他(跳入)湖里。

(45)

zə po	so	po	o	ndʑɛ	te
sandalwood	three	CL	there	EXT	DP
ཙན་དན	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	དེ་ན	*ལས་མཐུན*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
檀木	三	*量词*	那儿	*存在*	*连词*

(46)

hĩ ŋgi	tʰi	po	ʁo	ʁu tsʰu	ta	ji	le
middle	DET	CL	LOC	cover	EXT	say	MP
དཀྱིལ་དུ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*གནས་གཞི*	སྐྱོན་པ	*ལས་མཐུན*	བཤད	*ཚིག་སྟེགས*
中间	*限词*	*量词*	*位格*	盖/罩	*存在*	说	*语气*

'It was said that there were three sandalwood (trees) there (underwater) and (the hat) was covering (the top of) the middle one (sandalwood tree).'

(དེར་)ཙན་དན་གྱི་སྡོང་པོ་གསུམ་ཡོད་ལ། ཞྭ་མོ་(སྡོང་པོ་)དཀྱིལ་མའི་མགོར་བསྐྱོན་ཡོད་པར་གྲགས།

据说, (湖底)长着三棵檀木, (铁帽正好)罩在中间的那棵树梢上。

(47)

te	rə bi	so	la	te
DP	dragon	three	CL	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུག	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
连词	龙	三	*量词*	*连词*

[A] Grass rope is made by rolling grass between the hands to make rope of whatever length is desired.

(48)

zə po	tʰi	so	po	ʁo	y̩ y̩	ta
sandalwood	DET	three	CL	LOC	wind	EXT
ཙན་དན	ངེས་ཚིག	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	གནས་གཞི	འཁྲིལ	ལས་མཐུན
檀木	*限词*	三	*量词*	*位格*	缠绕	*存在*

'Then there were three dragons wound (around) the three sandalwood (trees).'
(མཚོ་ནང་དུ་)འབྲུག་གསུམ་ཙན་ལྡན་གྱི་སྡོང་པོ་གསུམ་པོའི་སྟེང་འཁྲིལ་འདུག
三条龙(分别)缠绕着那三棵檀木。

(49)

te	o	tʰi	la	ɕy	sə[A]
DP	there	GOAL	take/bring	went	ITR
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ལས་ཚིག	ལེན་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	བསྐྱར་ཟློས
连词	那儿	*目词*	拿	去	*重复*

(50)

rə bi	tʰi	so	la	tʰɛ	tʰi	tʰɛ	dʑy	sə	m̩
dragon	DET	three	CL	he	GOAL	bite	come	ITR	AVM
འབྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	ལས་ཚིག	སོ་རྒྱག་པ	ཡོང་བ	བསྐྱར་ཟློས	བྱེད་ཚིག
龙	*限词*	三	*量词*	他	*目词*	咬	来	*重复*	*副标*

'He went there to take (the hat) again (and again) and three dragons came to bite him again (and again).'
ཁོ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞྭ་མོ་ལེན་པར་ཕྱིན་ཡང་འབྲུག་གསུམ་པོས་ཁོ་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་སོ་བརྒྱབ།
(达帝)一次又一次地往那儿去拿, 但那三条龙也一次又一次地向他咬来。

[A] …*sə*[11]… *sə*[11]... = a phrase that refers to two actions being repeated again and again.

(51)

ræ	la	ma	p^{h}a	mi n̥u	te	zə rə	ŋæ ŋæ	ha
PRE-ATT	take/bring	NEG	able	after	DP	rope	shake	DP
འདས་སྔོན	ལེན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐག་པ	སྐྱུལ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
前体	取	*否定*	能	后	*连词*	绳子	摇动	*连词*

(52)

ndzə	ha	nda	ka	li	ma	sə	ro	ka
water	deep	very	DP	back	NEG	know	PT	DP
ཆུ	གཏིང་ཟབ་པ	ཧ་ཅང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤེས་པ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
水	深	很	*连词*	回	*否定*	知道	*去时*	*连词*

(53)

ta ndi	te	ha	ʂ̥ə qo	su	dja	le
ta ndi	DP	here	die	GEN	BE	S
ཟླ་ཏྲི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ཤི་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཉི་སྒྲ	འབོད་སྒྲ
达帝	*连词*	这儿	死	*属格*	*判断*	助词

'After (he) was unable to get (the hat), then (he) shook the grass rope, but the water was very deep and (his helpers) did not know (he was shaking the rope), so tan^{11} di^{11} died here (in the lake).'

ཞྭ་མོ་ལེན་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་རྗེས་སུ(ཁོས་)རྩྭ་ཐག་བསྐྱོད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་མཚོ་མོ་ཧ་ཅང་གཏིང་ཟབ་པས (རོགས་རམ་བྱེད་མཁན་དག་)གིས་དེ་མ་ཚོར་ལ། དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཟླ་ཏྲི་དེར་འཆི་བ་རེད།

(最后, 他)拿不到(铁帽), 摇动绳子, 可是水太深, (弟子们在岸上)不知道(绳子的震动), 所以达帝就在湖里(被水淹)死了。

(54)

te	n̥i q^{h}y̩	sə n̥i	ʂ̥ə qo	le	do mo	dʑy dʑy	li	dʑy
DP	noon	only after	die	DP	above	appear	back	come
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཉིན་གུང	གཞི་ནས	ཤི་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོག་ཏུ	མངོན་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
连词	下午	才	死	*连词*	上面	露出	回	来

'Then (he) died (and his corpse) came back and appeared above (the water) only after noon.'

དེ་ནས་(ཁོ་)ཤི་ལ། (ཁོའི་བེམ་རོ་)ཉིན་གུང་གི་རྗེས་སུ་གཞི་ནས་(མཚོ་)ངོས་སུ་མངོན།

后来, 死了, (尸体)下午才漂出水面来。

(55)

te	pi ʑi	tʰi ki	qo tɕʰə	le	ʁu ʂə	tʰɛ	qʰa	ʂa	m̩
DP	apprentice	these	sad	DP	before	he	how	tell	AVM
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སློབ་ཕྲུག	འདི་ཚོ་	ཡིད་སྐྱོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྔོན་དུ	ཁོ	ཅི་འདྲ	བཤད	བྱེད་ཚིག
连词	弟子	这些	伤心	*连词*	前面	他	怎样	说	*副标*

(56)

za	tʰi ki	tʙy qʰæ	le	tʰɛ	qʰa tsa	na	n̥a ŋga	ʁo	tɕʰə
za	these	crush	DP	he	mouth	and	nose	LOC	put
ཟ་	འདི་ཚོ་	ཐུག་གེར་གཏོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ཁ	དང	སྣ་	གནས་གཞི	འཇུག་པ
洒	这些	碾碎	*连词*	他	嘴巴	和	鼻子	*位格*	装

'Then these apprentices were sad and crushed these *za*[11] (and put it) into his mouth and nose as like how he had told (them) before.'

དེ་ནས་སློབ་ཕྲུག་ཚོ་ཡིད་སྐྱོ་ནས་སྔོན་ཆད་ཁོས་བཤད་པར་ལྟར་ཟ་འདི་ཚོ་ཐུག་གེར་བཏང་ནས་ཁོའི་ཁ་དང་སྣ་ནང་དུ་བཅུག་པ་རེད།

弟子们伤心地把那些洒按他(生)前所说的那样，碾碎后，放入他的嘴巴和鼻子里。

(57)

te	tʙy qʰæ	o	tɕʰə	pi tsa	te
DP	crush	LOC	put	finish	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐུག་གེར་གཏོང་བ	གནས་གཞི	འཇུག་པ	ཚར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	碾碎	*位格*	装	完	*连词*

(58)

ndzə bo	qʰa mɚ ta	mi	li	pʰɕə	te	li	so ro	ro
water	much	GOAL	back	disgorge	DP	back/re-	revive	PT
ཆུ	མང་བ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	སྐྱུག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	གསོན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
水	很多	*目词*	回	呕吐	*连词*	回	活	*去时*

'(After these apprentices) finished crushing (za^{11} and putting the powder) into his nose and eyes, (ta^{11} ndi^{11}) disgorged back out much water and revived.'

(ཁོ་ཚོས་ཟྭ་)ཐུག་གེར་བཏང་ནས་བཙུག་ཚར་རྗེས། (ཟླ་ཏྲི་)ཡིས་ཆུ་མང་པོ་བསྐྱུགས་ནས་ཕྱིར་གསོན།

碾碎了(洒), 一放完, 他吐了很多水, (又神奇地)复活了。

(59)

go	ȵu	ŋu	te	ti	ga	ha[A]	ma	ȵu
what	require	say	DP	one	CL	DP	NEG	need
ཅི་ཞིག	དགོས་པ	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	དགོས
什么	需要	说	*连词*	一	*量词*	*连词*	*否定*	需要

(60)

tʂʰə	so	tso	ræ	so	tso	ha lɛ	so	tso	jo	ko	ŋu
dog	three	CL	chicken	three	CL	cat	three	CL	SELF	give	say
ཁྱི	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བྱ་པོ	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཞི་ལ	གསུམ	*ཚད་ཚིག*	རང་ཉིད	སྟེར	བཤད
狗	三	*量词*	鸡	三	*量词*	猫	三	*量词*	自己	给	说

'(The king's family) asked, "What do you require?" and (he) said, "(I) need nothing, give me three dogs, three chickens and three cats."'

དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གིས་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་དགོས་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། (ཁོས་ང་ལ་)ཁྱི་གསུམ་དང་། བྱ་པོ་གསུམ། ཞི་ལ་གསུམ་ཁོ་ན་ལས་གཞན་ཅི་ཡང་མི་དགོས་ཞེས་ལན་བཏབ།

(君王家)问道: "要什么?", (他)回答到: "给我三条狗, 三只鸡和三只猫, (除此而外)什么都不要。"

[A] *ti*^{11} *ga*^{11} = one kind of thing. When *ha*^{44} is added to *ti*^{11} *ga*^{11} (*ti*^{11} *ga*^{11} *ha*^{44}) the meaning is 'anything'.

(61)

tʰɛ	te	rə bi	n̥i	qy̩	le	n̥i mi	go pa[A]	su	lo
he	DP	dragon	ERG	scare	DP	heart	fall	GEN	MP
ཁོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲུག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཇིགས་སྐྲག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྙིང	ལྷུང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
他	*连词*	龙	*作格*	吓	*连词*	心	掉	*属格*	*语气*

'(He did not take anything because) he had been scared by the dragons and (had failed so) was (full of) self-contempt.'

ཁོ་འབྲུག་གིས་འཇིགས་སྐྲག་སྐྱེ་རུ་བཅུག་པ་དང་ཕམ་སོང་བས་རང་ཉིད་ལ་མཐོང་ཆུང་བྱས་(ནས་ཅི་ཡང་མ་བླངས་པ་)རེད།

他是被(那三条)龙吓得自卑的呀！

(62)

ka	tʂʰə	so	tso	ræ	so	tso	ha lɛ	so	tso
DP	dog	three	CL	chicken	three	CL	cat	three	CL
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱ་ཕོ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཞི་ལ	གསུམ	ཚད་ཚིག
连词	狗	三	*量词*	鸡	三	*量词*	猫	三	*量词*

(63)

tʰɛ	ko	li	ɕy
he	give	back	went
ཁོ	སྟེར	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན
他	给	回	去

'Then (the lord's family) gave him three dogs, three chickens and three cats and he went back (to his home).'

དེ་ནས་(རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚང་གིས་)ཁོ་ལ་ཁྱི་གསུམ་དང་བྱ་ཕོ་གསུམ། ཞི་ལ་གསུམ་བྱིན་པས་(ཁོ་)ཕྱིར་(ཡུལ་ལ་)ཕྱིན་པ་རེད།

(君王家)把三条狗, 三只鸡和三只猫给了他，(他)就回去了。

[A] *n̥i*[11] *mi*[44] *go*[44] *pa*[53] = 'heart fall' or 'self-contempt'.

(64)

te	li	dʑy	te	ha	ta ji	po po	do mo	ʁo	tɕʰə ta
DP	back	come	DP	here	ta ji	mountain	above	LOC	from
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ཏྭ་ཡ	རི་བོ	ཐོག་ཏུ	གནས་གཞི	གནས
连词	回	来	*连词*	这儿	达亚	山	上面	*位格*	从

(65)

tʰi so tʰi ga	te	jo	li ʙu	ɕɛ	te	kʰa ro	kʰa ro[A]	ŋu
after	DP	SELF	li ʙu	family	DP	S	S	say
རྗེས་ཕྱོགས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	ལའི་སྦྲོ	ཚང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྭ་རའོ	ཁྭ་རའོ	བཤད
以后	*连词*	自己	里布	家	*连词*	卡容	卡容	说

(66)

lo	li	a	pi	ɕy	ŋu	ndʑə
GOAL	back/again	INT	do ritual	if	say	curse
ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འདྲི་ཚིག	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	གལ་ཏེ	བཤད	མནའ་སྐྱེལ་བ
目词	回	*疑问*	做法	假如	说	诅咒

'Then (he) came back here atop ta^{11} ji^{11} Mountain and cursed, "Will we li^{44} ʙu^{55}'s family say '*kʰa^{44} ro^{55}, kʰa^{44} ro^{55}*' and do rituals after (this) again?"'[B]

དེ་ནས་ཁོ་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་ནས་རི་བོ་ཏྭ་ཡའི་སྟེང་དུ་རེད་ལའི་སྦྲོ་ཚང་གིས་ད་ནས་བཟུང་ཁྭ་རའོ་ཁྭ་རའོ་ཟེར་ནས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་མི་སྒྲུབ་ཅེས་མནའ་སྐྱེལ།

一回到达亚山上就在山上诅咒道: “从今以后, 我里布家还会念着'卡容, 卡容'之词做法的话(就会得到惩罚)!”

[A] *pʰa^{53} tsə^{53}* chant differently when starting a ritual. *kʰa^{44} ro^{44}, kʰa^{44} ro^{44}* are vocables li^{44} ʙu^{55} pʰa^{53} tsə^{44} pronounced to begin a ritual.

[B] At this time, he killed all these chickens, dogs and cats and took a solemn oath to stop doing rituals by posing this rhetorical question atop ta^{11} ji^{11} Mountain.

(67)

te	ε qo	li	to	te	mbzə̢	ŋgo	ro
DP	home	back	arrive	DP	wife	sick	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཆུང་མ	ན་བ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	家庭	回	到达	*连词*	妻子	生病	*去时*

(68)

t^{h}ε	tʂ̢^{h}ə	na	ha lε	tʁu	le	ga ha	ȵi mi	ma	xi[A]	ji tɕa	ka
he	dog	and	cat	kill	DP	god	heart	NEG	easy	in fact	DP
ཁོ	ཁྱིམ	དང	ཞི་ལ	གསོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྷ	སེམས	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་སླ་མོ	དོན་དངོས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
他	狗	和	猫	杀害	*连词*	神	心	*否定*	简单	原来	*连词*

'In fact, when (he) arrived back home (his) wife was sick (because the) god was unhappy (because) he killed dogs and cats.'

དོན་དངོས་སུ་ཁོས་ཁྱི་དང་ཞི་ལ་སོགས་བསད་པས་ལྷའི་ཡིད་མ་དགའ་བར་(ཁོ་)ཕྱིར་ཐོན་དུས་(ཁོའི་)ཆུང་མ་ལ་ན་ཚ་ཐོག་ཏུ་བརྒྱུག

原来，山神为（他）杀害狗和猫的行为而愤怒, 回来后他的妻子又生病了。

(69)

te	mε k^{h}a	ma	pi	ma	t^{h}a	ro	ka
DP	at a loss	NEG	do ritual	NEG	OK	PT	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	没办法	*否定*	做法	*否定*	可以	*去时*	*连词*

(70)

k^{h}a ro	k^{h}a ro	ŋu	pi	ma	ŋa	m̩
k^{h}a ro	k^{h}a ro	say	do ritual	NEG	dare	AVM
ཁྲ་རའོ	ཁྲ་རའོ	བཤད	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཕོད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག
卡容	卡容	说	做法	*否定*	敢	*副标*

[A] *ȵi*^{11} *mi*^{44} *ma*^{53} *xi*^{53} = 'the heart is not easy' or 'unhappy'.

(71)

so so la ndzə̧	ŋu	lo	li	pi	ro	sə
so so la ndzə̧[A]	say	GOAL	back	do ritual	PT	again
སའོ་སའོ་ལ་བྲེ	བཤད	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
索索拉支	说	*目词*	回	做法	*去时*	又

'Then (he) was at a loss for it was not OK to not do rituals but (he) didn't dare say ' $k^{h}a^{44}$ ro^{55}, $k^{h}a^{44}$ ro^{55}' and do rituals (because he had sworn not to) so (he) said, "so^{11} so^{11} la^{44} $dzə̧^{44}$" and did rituals back again.'

དེ་ནས་(ཁོ་ལ་)ཐབས་ཟད་དེ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་མ་སྒྲུབ་ན་མི་འགྲིག་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་(ཁོས་)ཁ་རའོ་ཁ་རའོ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་འདོན་མི་ཕོད་པ་སྟེ། (རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཁོས་མནའ་བསྐྱལ་ཟིན།) དེ་ནས་ཁོས་སའོ་སའོ་ལ་བྲེ་ཞེས་བཏོན་ནས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བསྒྲུབས།

最后, (他)没有办法, (觉得)不做法(自己的妻子)就不行了, 可不敢念'卡容, 卡容'就念着'索索拉支'做法了。

(72)

ka	tʰɛ	hĩ	mbzə̧	tʰɛ	n̥i	pi	le	li	kʰi	ka
DP	he	GEN	wife	he	ERG	do ritual	DP	again	well	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཆུང་མ	ཁོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ཇེ་བཟང་དུ་སོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
连词	他	*属格*	妻子	他	*作格*	做法	*连词*	回	好转	*连词*

(73)

mæ	ka	ma	pi	ro
after	DP	NEG	do ritual	PT
རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
后来	*连词*	*否定*	做法	*去时*

'His wife was (made) well again by him doing rituals and (he) didn't do rituals after (that time).'

ཁོའི་ཆུང་མ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བསྒྲུབས་རྗེས་ཇེ་བཟང་དུ་སོང་བ་དང་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་(ཁོས་)ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་མ་བསྒྲུབས།

他做法把妻子（治）好了就再也没有做法.

[A] Vocables pronounced at the start of a ritual.

(74)

ka	ɕə za	ma	pʰa	ro
DP	mystical	NEG	able	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག
连词	神勇的	*否定*	能	*去时*

'So (he) was not able to be mystical (anymore).'
དེ་ནས་བཟུང་(ཁོ་)རང་ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བྱེད་མ་ཐོད།
所以, (从那以后, 他)就不能神勇了。

(75)

ma	pi	le	ma	ɕə za	su	ma	di	m̩
NEG	do ritual	DP	NEG	mystical	GEN	NEG	BE	AVM
དགག་སྒྲ	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	དགག་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	བྱེད་ཚིག
否定	做法	*连词*	*否定*	神勇	*属格*	否定	*判断*	*副标*

(76)

tʂʰə	nda	ræ	nda	tʰi	pʰæ	mdʁu la	mi n̥u	su	lo
dog	kill	chicken	kill	DET	CL	mistake	finish	GEN	MP
ཁྱི	གཙོད་པ	བྱ་པོ	གཙོད་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ནོར་འཁྲུལ	ཚར་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཚིག་སྙེགས
狗	砍	鸡	砍	*限词*	*量词*	错	完	*属格*	*语气*

'He lost the mystical power not because he didn't do the rituals, but because he mistakenly killed the dogs and chickens (when he took the oath on the mountain).'
(ཁོས་)ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་མ་བསྒྲུབས་པར་ནུས་རྩལ་མཆོག་ལྡན་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་མ་ཐུབ་པ་མིན་པ་སྟེ། (ཁོས་)ཁྱི་དང་བྱ་པོའི་སྲོག་གཙོད་པ་ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་པའི་ཕྱིར།
不是因为(他)不做法而不神勇, 而是错在(他)杀狗, 杀鸡的那点上的。

(77)

ka	a mi	na	li ʁu	ɕɛ	pi	ha	ma	pi
DP	now	we	li ʁu	lineage	do ritual	also	NEG	do ritual
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་ལྟ	ང་ཚོ	ལའེ་བྲོ	ཁྲིམ་རྒྱུད	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བྱེད་པ	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྒྲུབ་པ
连词	现在	我们	里布	家族	做法	连词	*否定*	做法

(78)

ka	p^ha tsə	ha	ma	dʑo	su	dja	le
DP	p^hatsə	also	NEG	EXT	GEN	BE	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྷ་བ	ཀྱང་།འང	དགག་སྒྲ	ལས་མཐུན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
连词	帕仔	也	*否定*	*存在*	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*

'So now we (members of the) li[44] ʁu[55] lineage, do rituals... also do not do rituals and also have no *$p^h a^{53}$ $tsə^{53}$*.'
དེ་བས་ད་ལྟ་ང་ཚོ་ལའེ་བྲོ་ཁྲིམ་རྒྱུད་འདིས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་མི་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་ལྷ་བའང་མེད་དོ།
所以, 现在, 我们里布家族不做法也没有帕仔。

THE SEVEN DAUGHTERS

a44 ma55 do53 dzə̥53

(1)

ʁo da	te	zə mi	ʂə	ja	dʑo	ta	ti	jy	dʑo
ancient	DP	girl	seven	CL	EXT	like this	one	CL	EXT
གནའ་སྔ་མོ་	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་	བུ་མོ་	བདུན་	ཚད་ཚིག་	ལས་མཐུན་	འདི་འདྲ་	གཅིག་	ཚད་ཚིག་	ལས་མཐུན་
从前	*连词*	女儿	七	*量词*	*存在*	这样	一	*量词*	*存在*

'In ancient (times), there was one family of seven girls, like this.'

གནའ་སྔ་མོར་བུ་མོ་བདུན་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་ཡོད།

从前, 有一户(人家)有七个女儿。

(2)

ũ ndʑə	t^hi	gy̩	te	su	pæ	ts^hə qɚ	ɕy	te
old man	DET	CL	DP	others	LOC	fortune-tell	went	DP
རྒད་པོ་	ངེས་ཚིག་	ཚད་ཚིག་	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་	གཞན་པ་	གནས་གཞི་	མོ་འདེབས་པ་	ཕྱིན་པ་	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་
老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	别人	*位格*	打卦	去	*连词*

(3)

nu	zə mi	t^hi	ʂə	ja	lo ʂa	n̥u	te
you	girl	DET	seven	CL	kill	after	DP
ཁྱོད་	བུ་མོ་	ངེས་ཚིག་	བདུན་	ཚད་ཚིག་	གསོད་པ་	རྗེས་སུ་	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག་
你	女儿	*限词*	七	*量词*	杀	后	*连词*

(4)

nu	ʑi	li	hĩ	p^ha	sə	ŋu
you	son	back/again	stand/EXT	able	still	say
ཁྱོད་	བུ་	ཕྱིར་	ལངས། ཡོད་པ་	ཐུབ་པ་	ད་རུང་	བཤད་
你	儿子	回	立/有	能	再	说

'The old man went to others for fortune telling, then (the fortune teller) said, "If you kill your seven girls then you still will be able to have sons again."

རྒན་པོ་འདི་མི་གཞན་སར་མོ་འདེབས་སུ་ཕྱིན། (མོ་བས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོ་བསད་ན་ཁྱོད་ལ་ད་དུང་བུ(སྐྱེ་)པའི་(རེ་བ་ཡོད་)ཅེས་བཤད།

老头子（女人的爸爸）到别人那儿去算卦, (算卦的人)说: “你把这七个女儿杀掉后, 你还能有男孩。”

(5)

mæ	te	ũ ndʑə	tʰi	gʏ̩	te
later	DP	old man	DET	CL	DP
རྗེས་སུ་	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒན་པོ་	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
后	*连词*	老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(6)

zə mi	tʰi	ʂ̩ə	ja	tʰɛ	ȵi	tɕy	ɕy	ka
girl	DET	seven	CL	he	ERG	cheat	went	DP
བུ་མོ་	ངེས་ཚིག	བདུན	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མགོ་སྐོར་གཏོང་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
女儿	*限词*	七	*量词*	他	*作格*	骗	去	*连词*

(7)

o ljo	fu	tɕə	bɛ	ŋu	ka
up there	onion	pull up	go	say	DP
ཡར་ན	ཙོང	འཐེན་པ	འགྲོ	བཤད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
上面	葱	拔	去	说	*连词*

(8)

m̩	le	tʰso ro mi	ɕɛ	ko	tʰo	tʁu	dzə	hĩ	ŋu
deceive	DP	tʰso ro mi	family	PER	ABS	kill	eat	PER	say/want
མགོ་སྐོར་གཏོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མི	ཚང	སྐུལ་ཚིག	སྐུབ་ཚིག	གསོད་པ	ཟ་བ	སྐུལ་ཚིག	བཤད
骗	*连词*	措绒米	家	*祈使*	*肯定*	杀	吃	*祈使*	说/想

(9)

ka	tɕy	ɕy
DP	cheat	went
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མགོ་སྐོར་གཏོང་བ	ཕྱིན་པ
连词	骗	去

'Later the old man cheated the seven daughters by saying "(Let's) go pull up onions" and (they) went (because he wanted ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s family) to kill and eat (them) so (he) cheated (them) and (so they) went.

རྗེས་སུ། བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོར་རྒད་པོས་མགོ་སྐོར་བཏང་ནས་(ང་ཚོ་)ཙོང་སློག་ཏུ་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བསླུས་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཁོས་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་རྣམས་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ལ་ཟ་རུ་འཇུག་བསམས་པའོ།

后来, 老头骗七个女儿说: “(我们)去拔葱吧!” (他)想把(他们)骗到措容米家, (让措容米)杀来吃掉。

(10)

t^{h}ε	ɳ̊i	tɕy	ɕy[A]	le	ʁu ʂ̥ə	ha	ŋgo lo tɕ^{h}ə
he	ERG	cheat	went	DP	first	here	knee
ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མགོ་སྐོར་གཏོང་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོག་མ	འདི་ན	པུས་མོ
他	*作格*	骗	去	*连词*	开始	这儿	膝盖

(11)

pæ	to	ɕy	ha	a wo	fu	tɕə	ʁa	ro
LOC	reach	went	DP	father	onion	pull up	time to	FT
གནས་གཞི	ཐོན་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ཙོང	འཐེན་པ	རན་པ	མ་འོངས་པ
位格	到达	去	*连词*	爸爸	葱	拔	该	*未时*

(12)

lo	ŋu	te	a qæ	t^{h}i	p^{h}æ	te	q^{h}a	dʑa
MP	say	DP	MP	DET	CL	DP	where	EXT
ཚིག་རྫོགས	བཤད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚིག་རྫོགས	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གང་ན	ལས་མཐུན
语气	说	*连词*	*语气*	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	哪儿	*存在*

[A] *ɕy*^{53} indicates a completed action.

(13)

sə	le	a sa	ʁu	ha	ɕə ɕə	hũ hũ	hũ	sə
still	MP	later	backpack	also	make	carry	need	still
ད་རུང་	ཚིག་སྙེགས	རྗེས་སུ	ཏ་ལེན	ཀྱང	བཟོ་བ	འཁུར་བ	དགོས	ད་རུང
还	*语气*	后来	背包	也	做	背	需要	还要

(14)

na	dzə̹ ki	pæ	to	sə n̥i	tɕə	ŋu
we/our	belt/waist	LOC	reach	only after	pull up	say
ང་ཚོ	སྐ་རགས	*གནས་གཞི*	ཐོན་པ	གཞི་ནས	འཐེན་པ	བཤད
我们	腰带	*位格*	到达	才	拔	说

'(The seven girls) were cheated by him and (the girls) said, "Father, Father, it's time to pull up the onions when (the water they were standing in) reached (their) knees," but (Father) said, "Oh, it is a little thing, later (we) also need to make backpacks to carry (the onions back home) and we will pull up (the onions) only when (the water) reaches your waists."'[A]

བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོར་ཁོས་མགོ་སྐོར་བཏང་བ་དང་། ཆུ་ཁོ་ཚོའི་པུས་མོའི་མཚམས་སུ་བསླེབས་དུས་བུ་མོ་ཚོས་ཨ་ཕ་ལགས། ཚོང་འཐེན་པའི་དུས་ལ་ཐོན་ཞེས་བཤད། དེ་ནས་ཁོས་དེར་སྐྱོན་མི་འདུག ང་ཚོས་ཅོང་ཀྱང་འཁུར་ནས་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཕྱིར་ཆུ་ང་ཚོའི་སྐེད་པར་སླེབ་དུས་ད་བཟོད་ཅོང་འཐེན་པར་བྱེད་ཅེས་སྨྲས།

(七个女儿)被他骗了出来, (他让那七个女儿站在一个水池里, 而自己却往里面灌水,)开始, (水升)到(那七个女儿的)膝盖上时(女儿们)说: “爸爸, 爸爸, 该拔(葱)了,” (老头却)说: “哦, 这事嘛, 过一会儿再干吧！等一会儿, (我们)还需要背(葱)背兜(回去), (等水)到腰间才去拔。”

(15)

ha	to	ɕy	ro	ha	a wo	tɕə	ʁa	ro	lo	ŋu
here	reach	went	PT	DP	father	pull up	OK	PT	MP	say
འདི་ན	ཐོན་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཨ་ཕ	འཐེན་པ	རན་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*ཚིག་སྙེགས*	བཤད་པ
这儿	到达	去	*去时*	*连词*	爸爸	拔	该	*去时*	*语气*	说

[A] The seven daughters were standing in a pond and their father was adding water to the pond to drown his daughters. This is not mentioned in the story, but understood from repeated telling.

(16)

te	ma	ʁa	sə	na	ja dʁu q^{h}æ	ji k^{h}ṿ	to	sə ȵi	tɕə	di
DP	NEG	OK	still	we	armpit	under	reach	only after	pull up	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	ད་རུང	ང་ཚོ	མཆན་ཁུག	འོག	ཐོན་པ	གཞི་ནས	འཐེན་པ	བཤད་པ
连词	*否定*	该	还	我们	腋	下面	到达	才	拔	说

'(When the water) reached here (waist high, the girls) said, "Father is it OK to pull up (the onions)?" but (the father) said, "It is still not OK, we will pull up (the onions) only after (the water) reaches under (your) armpits."'

(ཆུ་སྙིང་པའི་མཚམས་སུ་)བསླེབས་དུས། (བུ་མོ་ཚོས་)ཨ་ཕ་ལགས། ཨ་ཕ་ལགས། (ཅོང་)འཐེན་རན་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད། འོན་ཀྱང་(ཕོས་)ད་རུང་མི་ཚོག (ཆུ་)ང་ཚོའི་མཆན་འོག་ཏུ་སླེབ་དུས་ད་བཙོད་འཐེན་ཞེས་བཤད།

(水)到(腰间)了，(女儿们)就说："爸爸，该拔了吗?"可是(爸爸)说："还不该拔，(等水)到腋下才去拔吧。"

(17)

a sa	te	tæ ræ	pæ	to	sə	tɕə	ŋu	te
later	DP	neck	LOC	reach	only after	pull up	say	DP
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐེ	གནས་གཞི	ཐོན་པ	གཞི་ནས	འཐེན་པ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
后来	*连词*	脖子	*位格*	到达	才	拔	说	*连词*

'Later (Father) said, "(We will) pull (onions) up only after (the water) reaches to (your) necks."'

རྗེས་སུ་(ཕོས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། (ཆུ་ང་ཚོའི་སྐེ་རུ་སླེབ་)ན་ད་བཙོད་འཐེན་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་མགོ་བསྐོར་བཏང་།

后来, (爸爸)说(水)到脖子上才拔。

(18)

zə mi	t^{h}i	ʂə	ja	m̩	t^{h}ɛ	ȵi	la
girl	DET	seven	CL	AVM	he	ERG	OTM
བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	བདུན	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཡུལ་ཚིག
女儿	*限词*	七	*量词*	*副标*	他	*作格*	*宾标*

(19)

na	jy	t^{h}a	t^{h}i ki	ti	ly	ʁo	woŋ	sə	pi tsa
we/our	fish	pond	these	one	CL	LOC	drown	die	finish/all
ང་ཚོ	ཉ	རྫིང་བུ	འདི་ཚོ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*གནས་གཞི*	ཆུར་བྱིང་བ	ཤི་བ	ཚང་མ
我们	鱼	塘	这些	一	*量词*	*位格*	淹	死亡	完

'All seven girls were drowned to death (in a pond), one like our fish pond, by him.'

ང་ཚོའི་ཉ་རྫིང་འདྲ་བའི་རྫིང་བུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བུ་མོ་བདུན་པོ་ཁོས་ཆུར་བྱིངས་སུ་བཅུག་ནས་ཤི

他把七个女儿淹死在一个鱼塘里了, 就是我们今天的这种(鱼塘) 。

(20)

ti	ja	ka	li	dʑy	ti	ja	la	qæ lɛ	ji	le
one	CL	take out	back	come	one	CL	OTM	tickle	say	MP
གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཆུ་ལས་ཡར་ལེན་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	ཟ་འཕྲུག་སློང་བ	བཤད་པ	*ཚིག་རྒྱགས*
一	*量词*	捞	回	来	一	*量词*	*宾标*	挠痒痒	说	*语气*

'(It was) said that (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) took (the girls) one (by one) out of the water and tickled (them) one (by one).'

(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཡིས་བུ་མོ་དག་)རེ་རེ་བཞིན་ཆུ་ལས་ཡར་ལངས་ནས་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་ཟ་འཕྲུག་བསླངས་པར་གྲགས།

据说, (措容米从池塘里把她们) 一个个地捞上来, 并且一个个地挠痒痒。

(21)

ma	mʙu ly	t^{h}i	ja	sə ȵi	la	li	ɕy
NEG	move	DET	CL	only after	take/bring	back	went
དགག་སྒྲ	འགུལ་བ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གཞི་ནས	འཁུར་བ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ
否定	动	*限词*	*量词*	才	背	回	去

'(ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) only took back (to their home) the ones only after (the bodies) didn't move.'

(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཡིས་)འགུལ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་(བེམ་པོ་)རྣམས་གཞི་ནས་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཁུར།

(措容米) 只把那个一动也不动的背回去。

(22)

zə mi	a ȵo	t^{h}i	ja	te	ma	ʂə qo	te
girl	youngest	DET	CL	DP	NEG	die	DP
བུ་མོ	ཆུང་ཤོས	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	ཤི་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
女儿	幺/小	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	*否定*	死	*连词*

(23)

ma	ha	ʁu ly	ma	ha	q^{h}a tʂa	m̩	ka
NEG	DP	move	NEG	DP	make noise	AVM	DP
དགག་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འགུལ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅུར་སྒྲ་གཏོང་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
否定	*连词*	动	*否定*	*连词*	出声	*副标*	*连词*

(24)

ji xa	m̩	ts^{h}o ro mi	ȵi	vo ta	le	li	ɕy	ro
all	AVM	ts^{h}o ro mi	ERG	carry	DP	back	went	PT
ཚང་མ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མི	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཁུར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
都	*副标*	错容米	*作格*	扛	*连词*	回	去	*去时*

'The youngest girl was not dead but neither moved nor made noise; ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} carried all (these girls) back (to their home).'

བུ་མོ་ཆུང་ཤོས་དེ་ཤི་མེད་སོད། འོན་ཀྱང་མོ་འགུལ་རྒྱུ་མེད་ལ་ཅུར་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་རྒྱུ་ཡང་མེད་པས་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་དེ་ཚོ་ཚང་མ་(ཡུལ་ལ་)ཁུར་སོང་།

小女儿本来没有死，（但她）不动也没有出声所以都被错容米扛回去了。

(25)

væ qæ	t^{h}i ki	te	tʁu	dzə	pi tsa
others	these	DP	kill	eat	finish
མི་གཞན	འདི་ཚོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གསོད་པ	ཟ་བ	ཚར་བ
别人	这些	*连词*	杀	吃	完

(26)

zə mi	a ȵo	t^hi	ja	na na	li ndʑə	ro	ji	so
girl	youngest	DET	CL	only	leave/left	PT	say	MP
བུ་མོ	ཆུང་ཤོས	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	ལུས་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
女儿	幺/小	*限词*	*量词*	只	留	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said others were killed and eaten (by ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) and only the youngest girl was left.'
(བུ་མོ་)གཞན་རྣམས་(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་)ཡིས་བསད་དེ་ཟོས་པ་དང་བུ་མོ་ཆུང་ཤོས་གཅིག་པུ་ལྷག་འདུག་པར་གྲགས།
说是别的(女儿)都被杀来吃了, 就只剩下那个小女儿。

(27)

te	$t^hɛ$	hĩ	a ja mo	hĩ	ja ʁu dʑa	t^hi ki	o ba	$t^hɛ$	pa	te
DP	she	GEN	sister	GEN	jewel	these	all	she	EXT	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྲིང་མོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	སྐེ་རྒྱན	འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	མོ	ལས་མཐུན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	她	*属格*	姐姐	*属格*	项链	这些	都	她	*存在*	*连词*

(28)

ts^ho ro mi	ɕɛ	zə mi	t^hi	ja	te	t^hi ki	mo	ka
ts^ho ro mi	family	girl	DET	CL	DP	these	admire	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མེ	ཁྱིམ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ཚོ	ཡིད་སྨོན་བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
措容米	家	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	这些	羡慕	*连词*

(29)

a we	na	ȵi	kʏ̩	ta qæ	a	qæ	di
S	we	two	CL	change	INT	shall	say
འབོད་སྒྲ	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྗེ་རེས	འདྲི་ཚིག	ཆོག་པ	བཤད་པ
呼格	我们	二	*量词*	换	*疑问*	可以	说

'She had all her sisters' jewels, and the daughter of ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s family admired these (her jewels) so (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s daughter) said, "*a^{44} we^{55}*, shall we two change (our jewels)?"'[A]
(མོ་ལ་)མོའི་ཨ་ཅེ་ཚོའི་སྙེ་རྒྱན་ཚང་མ་ཡོད་པས། ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཚང་གི་བུ་མོ་དེས་མོ་ལ་ཡིད་སྨོན་བྱས་པ་དང་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བརྗེ་རེས་བྱས་ན་ཧི་འདྲ་འདུག་ཟེར།
她有姐姐们的所有项链, 所以措容米家的女儿羡慕地说: “哎, 我俩可以换吗?”

(30)

te	nu	jo	t^{h}i ki	n̥u	te
DP	you	SELF	these	need	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	རང་ཉིད	འདི་ཚོ	དགོས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	你	自己	这些	需要	*连词*

(31)

na	n̥i	ky̩	jy ro	tæ qæ	ta hũ	di
we	two	CL	bedroom	change	tonight	say
ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཉལ་ཁང	བརྗེ་རེས	དོ་དགོང	བཤད་པ
我们	二	*量词*	寝室	换	今晚	说

'(The youngest girl said), "If you need these, my (jewels), then we two can change bedrooms tonight."'
(བུ་མོ་དེས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། གལ་སྲིད་ཁྱོད་ལ་འདི་དག་དགོས་ཚེ་ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དོ་ནུབ་ཉལ་ས་བརྗེ་དགོས་ཟེར།
(小女儿)说: “你需要我这些的话, 今晚我俩换睡觉的地方吧。”

(32)

te	nu	jy ro	ŋa	tæ qæ	a	qæ
DP	you	bedroom	I	change	INT	would
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཉལ་ཁང	ང	བརྗེ་རེས	འདྲི་ཚིག	འདོད་པ
连词	你	睡觉的地方	我	换	*疑问*	愿意

[A] *a^{44} we^{55}* = a sound suggesting a person wants to make a transaction with another person.

(33)

jy ro	ŋa	tæ qæ	te	ŋa	t^{h}i ki	nu	ko	di
bedroom	I	change	DP	I	these	you	give	say
ཞལ་ཁང	ང	བརྗེ་རེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང	འདི་ཚོ	ཁྱོད	སྤེར	བཤད་པ
睡觉的地方	我	换	*连词*	我	这些	你	给	说

'Then (the younger sister continued and) said, "Would you change bedrooms with me? Change bedrooms with me, then I (will) give (you) these (jewels)."'
(མོས་སུ་མཐུད་དུ་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་དང་ཉལ་ས་བརྗེ་ན་ངས་ད་བཟོད་ཁྱོད་ལ་འདི་དག་སྤེར་ཐེར།
(小女儿继续) 说: “你跟我换睡觉的地方吗？换睡觉的地方的话我给你这些。”

(34)

te	ts^{h}o ro mi	t^{h}i	ja	dja	ŋu	ka
DP	ts^{h}o ro mi	DET	CL	BE	think	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མི	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཉི་སྒྲ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	措容米	*限词*	*量词*	*判断*	说	*连词*

(35)

na	zə mi	t^{h}i	ja	da	tæ qæ	ro	ji
our	girl	DET	CL	DAT	change	PT	say
ང་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལ་དོན	བརྗེ་རེས	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ
我们	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*	换	*去时*	说

'Then ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s daughter) thought it was right and said, "Yes," and changed (bedrooms) with the girl, our (girl).'
དེ་ནས་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡི་བུ་མོས་དེ་ཚོག་གི་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཉལ་ས་བརྗེས།
然后, 措容米(的女儿)以为是真的就跟我们的小女儿换了。

(36)

tæ qæ	ȵu	te
change	after	DP
བརྗེ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
换	后	*连词*

(37)

t^hɛ	hĩ	zə mi	t^hi	ja	ly	ta	dʑy	ro	ji
they	GEN	girl	DET	CL	watch	DP	come	PT	say
ཁོ་ཚོ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ
他们	*属格*	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	看/盯	*连词*	有	*去时*	说

'It was said that later (they) changed (bedrooms, but ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s family) thought this (the girl) was the only one (they had got) and (they) watched (the daughter) and came to their daughter when (they) wanted to kill the girl (the youngest daughter) to eat.'

(ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཉལ་ས་)བརྗེས་རྗེས། ཚོ་རོ་མིས་(རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་ཁོ་རང་ཚོས་ཁྱུར་ཡོང་བའི་བུ་མོ་ཆུང་ཤོས་དེ་རེད་བསམས་ནས་)མོ་གསོད་དུ་ཡོང་།

说是换了(地方)以后，(措容米家想杀那个女儿) 就盯着他们(自己)的那个女儿来到她的房间。

(38)

ts^ho ro mi	ɕɛ	zə mi	t^hi	ja	te
ts^ho ro mi	family	girl	DET	CL	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ཁྱིམ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
措容米	家	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(39)

a wo	a wo	ŋu	te	nɛ	a wo	o mo	ho	dʑo
father	father	say	DP	your	father	down there	far away	EXT
ཨ་ཕ	ཨ་ཕ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཨ་ཕ	མར་ན	ཐག་རིང	ལས་མཐུན
爸爸	爸爸	说	*连词*	你们	爸爸	下面	远处	*存在*

(40)

ma ja	ma ja	ŋu	te	nɛ	ma ja	o mo	ho	dʑo	ŋu
mother	mother	say	DP	your	mother	down there	far away	EXT	say
ཨ་མ	ཨ་མ	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	ཨ་མ	མར་ན	ཐག་རིང	*ལས་མཐུན*	བཤད་པ
妈妈	妈妈	说	*连词*	你们	妈妈	下面	远处	*存在*	说

(41)

ka	t^hɛ	zə mi	t^hɛ	n̥i	mæ	le	tɐu	ro	ji
DP	they	daughter	they	ERG	catch	DP	kill	PT	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	ཁོ་ཚོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	བཟུང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གསོད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད་པ
连词	他们	女儿	他们	*作格*	抓	*连词*	杀	*去时*	说

'It was said that the girl of ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s family said, "Father, Father," then (ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) said, "Your father is far away." The girl of ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s family said, "Mother, Mother," then (ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) said, "Your mother is far away," and caught their own daughter and killed (her).'

(ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཚང་གི་བུ་མོ་དེས་ཨ་ཕ། ཨ་ཕ་ཞེས་བོས་པ་ན། (ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་)ཨ་ཕ་རྒྱང་དུ་ཡོད་ཅེས་བཤད། (ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡི་བུ་མོས་)ཨ་མ། ཨ་མ་ཞེས་བོས་པ་ན། (ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་)ཨ་མ་རྒྱང་དུ་ཡོད་ཅེས་བཤད་དེ་ཁོ་ཚོའི་བུ་མོ་ཁོ་ཚོས་བཟུང་ནས་བསད་པ་རེད།

措容米家的那个女儿喊道: “爸爸！ 爸爸！ "(措容米却)说: “你的爸爸在那很远很远的地方；(她)喊道: “妈妈! 妈妈!” (措容米)说: “你的妈妈在那很远很远的地方,” 就把他们(自己)的女儿杀了。

(42)

mæ	ti	ʂo	te	t^hɛ	zə mi	t^hi	ja	da	lo tɕə
later	one	CL	DP	they	girl	DET	CL	DAT	get up
རྗེས་སུ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁོ་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལ་དོན*	ལངས་པ
后来	一	*量词*	*连词*	他们	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*	起床

(43)

ʂə	pʁu[A]	da	lo	ŋu	ha	li	ma	sə	sə	ji
meat	send	come	MP	say	DP	back	NEG	know	still	say
ཤ	སྐྱེལ་བ	ཡོང་བ	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཤེས་པ	ད་དུང	བཤད
肉	送	来	*语气*	说	*连词*	回	*否定*	知道	还	说

'It was said, later, at one (o'clock) the next morning, (the *ts^h^o^11^ ro^44^ mi^11^* parents) got up and called their daughter, "Come send meat," but (the parents) still didn't know (that they had killed their own daughter).'

ཕྱི་ཉིན་ནངས་མོར། (ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཚང་གི་ཕ་མ་གཉིས་)ཡར་ལངས་ནས་(ཁྱིམ་མཚེས་རྣམས་ལ་)ཤ་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཤོག་ཅེས་(རང་གི་བུ་མོ་)བོས་སོང་། འོན་ཀྱང་(ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་རང་གིས་བསད་པ་)ད་དུང་ཤེས་མེད།

第二天早上, (措容米)对他们自己的女儿说: “起来, (去给邻居家们)送肉,” 时还不知道(自己把自己的亲生女儿杀了) 。

(44)

na	zə mi	t^h^i	ja	te	qʏ̩	ka
we/our	girl	DET	CL	DP	afraid	DP
ང་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྐྲག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
我们	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	害怕	*连词*

(45)

ŋa	hɛ mbɛ	ti p^h^æ	ma	k^h^i	ʂə ʂə	ŋu	ka
I	stomach	one/a	NEG	good/well	little	say	DP
ང	ལྟོ་བ	གཅིག	*དགག་སྒྲ*	བཟང་བ	ཅུང་ཙམ	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
我	肚子	一点	*否定*	好	点	说	*连词*

(46)

lo tɕə	da	ma	na
get up	come	NEG	would
ལངས་པ	ཡོང་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ
起床	来	*否定*	肯

[A] *pʁu^11^* = send. It is customary to send meat to other homes when a family has meat.

'Our girl was afraid and said, "My stomach is a little bit unwell," and (she) would not get up and come.'

ང་ཚོའི་བུ་མོ་འདི་སྐྲག་ནས་ངའི་ཕོ་བ་ན་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད་དེ་ལངས་མ་ཡོང་པ་རེད།

我们的小女儿害怕地说: “我肚子有点不舒服,” 就不肯起来。

(47)

mæ	sə ȵi	lo tɕə	dʑy	te
later	only	get up	come	DP
རྗེས་སུ	གཞི་ནས	ལངས་པ	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
后来	才	起床	来	*连词*

(48)

ʂə	qæ	le	$t^hɛ$	ko	bo ka	vi	ɕy	hĩ	ro
meat	scoop	DP	she	ABS	neighbor	divide	went	PER	PT
ཤ	འཆུ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	སྒྲུབ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ་མཚང	བགོ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྐུལ་ཚིག	འདས་ཚིག
肉	舀	*连词*	她	*肯定*	家	分	去	*祈使*	*去时*

'(She) only got up and came later, and (the parents) scooped meat and ordered her to divide (it) for the neighbors.'

རྗེས་སུ། (མོ་མལ་ལས་)ལངས་ལ། (ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཚང་གི་ཕ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་)ཤ་བཙུས་ནས་མོ་ལ་བྱིན་སྟེ་མཁྱིམ་ཚེས་ཚོར་(ཤ་)བགོ་རུ་བཙུག

后来才起来时, (措容米)舀肉给她, 并让她去分给邻居家。

(49)

ti	q^ha	qæ	$t^hɛ$	ko	o mo	t^hi	jy	ɕɛ	pa	hũ	ma	ŋu
one	CL	scoop	she	give	down	DET	CL	family	give	go	MP	say
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཆུ་བ	མོ	སྟེར	མར་ན	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	སྟེར་བ	སོང	ཚིག་སྒྲིགས	བཤད་པ
一	*量词*	舀	她	给	下面	*限词*	*量词*	家庭	给	去	*语气*	说

'(The *ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}* mother) scooped one ball (of soup made of their cooked daughter) to her and said, "Go give (this) to the family down there."'

(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཚང་གི་ཨ་མས་)སྐྱོགས་གཅིག་བཙུས་ནས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། འདི་ཕ་གིའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་དེར་སྟེར་དུ་སོང་ཟེར།

(措容米) 舀了一盆 (肉) 给她说: “去送给那一家吧。”

(50)

te	rə gy̩	ti	te	to	n̥u	te
DP	road/way	one	CL	arrive	after	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལམ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཐོན་པ	རྗེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	路	一	*量词*	到达	后	*连词*

(51)

ndzə bo	o ba	t^hɛ	n̥i	p^hu	mi ŋga	ka
water/soup	all	she	ERG	pour	SUF-COM	DP
ཆུ	ཚང་མ	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འབྱོ་བ	འདུས་རྗེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
水/汤	都	她	*作格*	倒	*后体*	*连词*

(52)

ʂ̩ə	t^hi ki	o ba	t^hɛ	n̥i	tʂ̩^{h}a q^{h}a	pæ	lo	tɕə
meat	these	all	she	ERG	skirt	root	GOAL	pull
ཤ	འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སྨད་གཡོགས	མཐའ	ལས་ཚིག	འཐེན་པ
肉	这些	都	她	*作格*	裙子	根	*目词*	拉

(53)

li	dʑy	ka	la	le	tʂ̩^{h}a q^{h}a	pæ qy̩	mi	ɕy ɕy
back	come	DP	OTM	DP	skirt	root	GOAL	fill
ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྨད་གཡོགས	མཐའ	ལས་ཚིག	ལྡུག་པ
回	来	*连词*	*宾标*	*连词*	裙子	根	*目词*	装

'Then after (the daughter) arrived half-way, (she) pulled up the root (bottom part) of (her) skirt and she poured (out) all of the soup and took the meat and filled the skirt root.'[A]

ལམ་ཕྱེད་དུ། མོས་(ཤ་)ཁུ་ཚང་མ་ཕྱི་རུ་འབྱོ་བ་དང་། རང་གི་སྨད་གཡོགས་ཡར་འཐེན་ནས་ཤ་ཚང་མ་སྨད་གཡོགས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བླུགས།

走到半路上时, 她把汤都倒掉, 拉起裙子就把肉都往那里塞。

[A] When she got half-way, she pulled up her skirt a bit above her belt, poured the soup out on the ground and put the meat in the small pouch she had formed with the skirt top. After she did this several times, the small pouch she had made was full of meat.

(54)

qʰa n̥i jy	m̩	pʁu	le	pʁu	pi tsa	n̥u	te
several families	AVM	send	DP	send	finish	after	DP
ཁྱིམ་ཚང་འགའ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	སྐྱེལ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྐྱེལ་བ	ཚར་བ	རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
几家	*副标*	送	*连词*	送	完	后	*连词*

(55)

tʂʰa qʰa	pæ qɣ̩	ha	bzʅə	ro	ji	le
tʂʰa qʰa	root	also	full	PT	say	MP
ཁྲ་ཁ	མཐའ	ཀྱང	གང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད་པ	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*
裙子	根	也	满	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said (the daughter was) sent and after finishing (being) sent to several families, the *tʂʰa⁴⁴ qʰa⁵⁵* root was also full (of meat).'

ཁྱིམ་ཚང་འགར་བསྐྱལ་ཚར་དུས་སྨད་གཡོགས་ད་རུང་ཤ་ཡིས་བལྟམས་འདུག

送完几家后, (她的)裙子也(塞)满了(肉) 。

(56)

n̥u	te	tʰɛ	n̥i	pʁu	pi tsa	n̥u	te	pæ	ro	ji	so
after	DP	she	ERG	send	finish	after	DP	run	PT	say	MP
རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	སྐྱེལ་བ	ཚར་བ	རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	རྒྱུག	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*
后	*连词*	她	*作格*	送	完	后	*连词*	跑	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said then after (she) ran away after she finished sending (the meat).'

མོས་(ཤ་)བསྐྱལ་ཚར་རྗེས་(མོ་)བྲོས་བྱོལ་བྱས་བར་གྲགས།

后来, 她送完后跑了。

(57)

pæ	n̥u	te	tʰi	tʰʁu	te	bo ka	ho	ŋa	hĩ	a qʰʂ̩ə
run	after	DP	DET	CL	DP	neighbor	all	I	GEN	daughter
རྒྱུག	རྗེས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱིམ་མཚེས	ཚང་མ	ང	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	བུ་མོ
跑	跑	*连词*	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	家庭	都	我	*属格*	女儿

(58)

ŋa	ȵi	la	li	tʁu	dzə	ji tɕa	ndɛ pɛ[A]	tʂʰə	tɕʰə tɕʰə tɕʰə
I	ERG	OTM	back	kill	eat	in fact	ndɛ pɛ	dog	untie
ང	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	གསོད་པ	ཟ་བ	དོན་དངོས་སུ	བདེ་སྙེད	ཁྱི	གཏོང་བ
我	*作格*	*宾标*	回	杀	吃	原来	德别	狗	放

(59)

ndɛ pɛ	tʂʰə	tɕʰə tɕʰə tɕʰə	kʰy̩	m̩	ŋu
ndɛ pɛ	dog	release/untie	quick	AVM	say
བདེ་སྙེད	ཁྱིམ	གཏོང་བ	མགྱོགས་པོ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	བཤད
德别	狗	放	快	*副标*	说

'At this moment, after (she) ran away, (tsʰo^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s parents) yelled, "All neighbors, I (unknowingly) killed my daughter and ate (her flesh); untie the *ndɛ^{11} pɛ^{44}* dogs, quickly untie the *ndɛ^{11} pɛ^{44}* dogs."'

(མོ་)བྲོས་བྱོལ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་འདིར། (ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཚང་གི་ཕ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་འུར་བརྒྱབ་ནས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱིམ་མཚེས་ཚོ། དོན་དངོས་སུ་ངས་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་(ནོར་འཁྲུལ་སློས་)བསད་ནས་(མོའི་ཤ་)ཟོས། མྱུར་དུ་བདེ་སྙེད་ཁྱི་ཚང་མ་གཏོང་རོགས་ཟེར།

跑了以后(措容米)喊: “邻居们, 原来我把我的女儿杀了, 快放德别狗[B]，快放德别狗(追她)。”

(60)

ndɛ pɛ	tʂʰə	hĩ hoŋ	hĩ hoŋ	ŋu	ka	dʑy	ro	ji	le
ndɛ pɛ	dog	OP	OP	say	DP	come	PT	say	MP
བདེ་སྙེད	ཁྱི	*ལད་ཟློས*	*ལད་ཟློས*	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད་པ	*ཚིག་སྙེགས*
德别	狗	*拟声*	*拟声*	说	*连词*	来	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said that the *ndɛ^{11} pɛ^{44}* dogs came with the sound of *hi^{11} hoŋ^{53} hi^{11} hoŋ^{53}*.'

བདེ་སྙེད་ཁྱི་དག་ཡོང་ཡོང་གི་སྒྲ་དང་བཅས་འོངས།

德别狗汪汪地叫着来了。

[A] *ndɛ^{11} pɛ^{44}* dogs are very big, strong and ferocious and appear only in folklore.

[B] 传说中措容米养的一种犬。

(61)

dʑy	te	pæ	le	tʰɛ	mæ mæ	qa qa	sə[A]	kʰʏ kʰʏ tɕʰa
come	DP	run	DP	she	close	nearly	ALTIT	quickly
ཡོང་བ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	རྒྱུག	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	མོ	ཐག་ཉེ་བ	ཕལ་ཆེར	*མང་ཟློས*	མགྱོགས་པོ
来	*连词*	跑	*连词*	她	接近	要	*多重*	快

(62)

tsʰo ro mi	ʂə	n̥i	ndɛ	qʏ	o	tʰi	pʰa	te
tsʰo ro mi	meat/flesh	two	CL	throw	there	GOAL	sow/strow	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ཤ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འཕེན་པ	དེ་ན	*ལས་ཚིག*	གཏོར་བ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*
措容米	肉	二	*量词*	丢	那儿	*目词*	洒	*连词*

(63)

tʂʰə	tʰi ki	to to tɕʰa	le	dzə	sə	tʰɛ	ti	pæ	tsʰu	sə	m̥
dog	these	fight	DP	eat	ALTIT	she	one	run	DP	ALTIT	AVM
ཁྱི	འདི་ཚོ	རྡུང་རེས་བྱེད་པ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	ཟ་བ	*མང་ཟློས*	མོ	གཅིག	རྒྱུག	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	*མང་ཟློས*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
狗	这些	打架	*连词*	吃	*多重*	她	一	跑	*连词*	*多重*	*副标*

'(The dogs) came and nearly ran close to her, then (she) quickly strewed some of tsʰo[11] ro[44] mi[11]'s (daughter's) flesh there and these dogs fought to eat the (flesh) and (then she) ran a little bit again.'

ཁྱི་རྣམས་བརྒྱུགས་འོངས་ནས་ཕལ་ཆེར་མོའི་རྗེས་ཆོད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་མོས་མགྱོགས་པོར་ཚོ་རོ་མི་(ཚང་གི་བུ་མོའི་)ཤ་རྡོག་འགའ་དེར་འཕངས་པ་ན་ཁྱི་དེ་ཚོ་ཤའི་སྟེང་དུ་རྩོད་པ་བྱས་ནས་བསྡད།

(德别狗)快要接近时，(小女儿)赶快扔几块措容米的肉过去，这些狗在争着吃时 (她)又跑一会儿。

(64)

qʰo pa	le	qʰo pa	le	ʂə	pi tsa	n̥u	te
chase	DP	chase	DP	meat/flesh	finish	after	DP
འདེད་པ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	འདེད་པ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*	ཤ	ཚར་བ	རྗེས་སུ	*སྒྲིལ་ཚིག*
追赶	*连词*	追赶	*连词*	肉	完	后	*连词*

[A] *sə*[44] used three times refers to the actions of walking, beating and biting again and again.

(65)

o mo	ndzə bo	ti	q^{h}æ	ʁo	dzo	ti	ts^{h}u	pæ	to
down there	water	one	CL	LOC	bridge	one	CL	beside	arrive/reach
མར་ན	ཆུ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*གནས་གཞི*	ཟམ་པ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འགྲམ་དུ	ཐོན་པ
下面	水	一	*量词*	*位格*	桥	一	*量词*	边	到达

'(The dogs and $ts^{h}o^{11}$ ro^{44} mi^{11}) chased and chased and reached one (wooden) bridge beside one river after finishing (eating) the flesh.'
(ཁྱི་དག་གིས་)ཤ་ཟོས་ཚར་རྗེས། (མོ་)ཡང་བསྐྱར་བདས་ནས་ཆུ་བོ་ཞིག་གི་འགྲམ་དུ་ཤིང་གི་ཟམ་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་སར་བསླེབས།
(狗把她)追呀追, 肉扔完后, 来到了河边的一座桥边。

(66)

dzo	t^{h}i	tso	t^{h}ɛ	n̥i
bridge	DET	CL	she	ERG
ཟམ་པ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*
桥	*限词*	*量词*	她	*作格*

(67)

ti	rə ka	lo	lo ts^{h}a	ka	p^{h}je	o	mi	$tɕ^{h}$ə
one	side	GOAL	lift	DP	destroy	there	GOAL	SUF-COM
གཅིག	ཕྱོགས	*ལས་ཚིག*	འདེགས་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	འཇིག་པ	དེ་ན	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*
一	边	*目词*	抬	*连词*	拆	那儿	*目词*	*后体*

'(One end of the) bridge was lifted up by her (after she crossed to the other side and it fell) down (into the river) and was destroyed.
མོས་ཟམ་པའི་སྣེ་གཅིག་ཡར་བཀྱགས་ནས་ཆུ་ནང་དུ་འཕངས་ཏེ་བཤིག
她(走过桥)把桥的一边抬起来, 拆掉了。

(68)

t^hi ʁu	te	pɛ rə	ti	ʁu	ha	dʑa	te
other side	DP	straw	one	CL	here	EXT	DP
ཕ་རོལ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྩྭ་སྤྱི	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ལས་མཐུན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
对面	*连词*	干草	一	*量词*	这儿	*存在*	*连词*

(69)

t^hɛ	ȵi	pɛ rə	t^hi ʁu	ʁo	mi	ɕy	ka
she	ERG	straw	other side	LOC	GOAL	went	DP
མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	རྩྭ་སྤྱི	ཕ་རོལ	གནས་གཞི	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
她	*作格*	干草	对面	*位格*	*目词*	去	*连词*

(70)

p^hɛ te	ȵi	p^hæ	do mo	li	dʑy dʑy
sash	two	CL	above	back	come out
སྐ་རགས	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ཐོག་ཏུ	ཕྱིར	མངོན་པ
腰带	二	*量词*	上面/外面	回	露出

'On the other side of (the river), there was one straw pile here and she went into the straw pile (to hide but) the two sash[A] ends came out (above the straw pile).'
(ཆུ་བོའི་)ཕ་རོལ་ན་རྩྭའི་སྤྱིལ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ལ། མོ་དེ་ནང་དུ་སྐྱས་ནས་བསྡད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་(མོའི་)སྐ་རགས་ཀྱི་སྣེ་གཉིས་ཕྱི་རུ་མངོན་འདུག
(河)对面有一堆干草, 她钻进那堆干草, 腰带的两端露在(草堆的)外面。

(71)

ndɛ pɛ	$tʂ^h$ə	t^hi ki	te	o
ndɛ pɛ	dog	these	DP	MP
བདེ་སྐྱིད	ཁྱི	འདི་ཚོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
德别	狗	这些	*连词*	*语气*

[A] Many na[53] mʑi[53] women wear a sash with two triangular ends.

(72)

tsʰə mi	ha	dʑy dʑy	ro	væ m̩	ʁa	ro
tsʰə mi	also	came out	PT	spring sowing	time to	PT
ཚི་མི	ཀྱང	མངོན་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཞིང་རྨོ་བ	རན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
茨米	也	露出	*去时*	春耕	该	*去时*

(73)

ji tɕa	ŋu	ka	li	ɕy	ro
in fact	say	DP	back	went	PT
དོན་དངོས་སུ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	འདས་ཚིག
原来	说	*连词*	回	去	*去时*

'These *ndɛ*[11] *pɛ*[44] dogs thought, "Oh, *tsʰə*[11] *mi*[44A] also came out so it's time for spring sowing," and went back.'
བདེ་སྣེད་ཁྱི་འདི་དག་གིས་ཨོ། ཚི་མི་འང་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་ཡོད་པས་ད་ཞིང་རྨོ་རན་སོང་བསམས་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཕྱིན་པ་རེད།
那些德别狗(见了腰带)就想: “哦, 茨米也长出来了, 该春耕了!”就回去了。

(74)

te	na	zə mi	tʰi	ja	te	ɕa ndjo	le
DP	we	girl	DET	CL	DP	pity	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྙིང་རྗེ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	我们	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	可怜	*连词*

[A] *tsʰə*[11] *mi*[44] = plant whose emergence in spring signals the time to begin spring plowing and sowing. The diameter of the leaf whorl above the ground is about that of a pencil and the leaves extend approximately ten centimeters above the ground. The roots of this plant are about the size of common electrical cord. The roots are collected in spring, taken home, washed and cut into pieces. It is not cooked. Salt and such spices as Sichuan pepper and chili may be added. This dish is eaten with rice and potatoes.

(75)

t^hi	$t^hʀu$	te	pæ	le	li	dʑy
DET	CL	DP	run	DP	back	come
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	འོང
限词	*量词*	*连词*	跑	*连词*	回	来

'Then, at this moment, our girl, (how) pitiful (she was), ran back (away).'

དེ་ནས་ང་ཚོའི་ཉམས་ཆུང་བའི་བུ་མོ་འདི་(རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་)ཕྱིར་བརྒྱུགས་འོངས།

这时，我们可怜的小女孩跑了回来。

(76)

pæ	le	pæ	le	sa[A]	vo	ti	jy	ɕɛ	lo	ʁu pʀu
run	DP	run	DP	hemp	spin	one	CL	family	GOAL	meet
རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སོ་མ་ར་ཙ	བརྒྱུ་བ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ལས་ཚིག	འཕྲད་པ
跑	*连词*	跑	*连词*	麻	转动	一	*量词*	家庭	*目词*	碰到

(77)

te	ts^ho ro mi	ti	jy	ɕɛ	dja	ji tɕa	ka
DP	ts^ho ro mi	one	CL	family	BE	fact	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མེ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	ནི་སྒྲ	མ་གཞི	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	措容米	一	*量词*	家庭	*判断*	原来	*连词*

'(She) ran and ran, and then met one family spinning hemp but, in fact, it was one ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} family again.'

(མོ་)བྲོས་ནས་མཐར་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་གིས་སོ་མ་ར་ཙ་བརྒྱུ་བཞིན་པར་ཐུད། འོན་ཀྱང་(མ་གཞི་)དེ་ཡང་ཚོ་རོ་མེའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་ཡིན་འདུག

(她)跑呀跑, 碰到一家纺麻的人家，原来还是一家措容米。

[A] sa^{11} has three meanings: (1) the hemp plant, (2) the outside part of the hemp and (3) clothes made from the hemp plant.

(78)

ts^{h}o ro mi	t^{h}i	gy̩	t^{h}ɛ	da	o	nu	ʁa	nda	ro
ts^{h}o ro mi	DET	CL	she	DAT	MP	you	good	very	PT
ཚོ་རོ་མེ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མོ	ལ་དོན	ཚིག་སྟེགས	ཁྱོད	བཟང	ཏ་ཙང	འདས་ཚིག
措容米	*限词*	*量词*	她	*与格*	*语气*	你	好	很	*去时*

(79)

nu	jo	ʁo ʁo	sa	ti	t^{h}ʙu	lo	vo	da
you	SELF	help	hemp	one	CL	GOAL	spin	come
ཁྱོད	རང་ཉིད	རོགས་རམ	སོ་མ་ར་ཙ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	བཀྱུ་བ	ཡོང་བ
你	自己	帮忙	麻	一	*量词*	*目词*	转动	来

(80)

jo	dzo̡ ga	tɕ^{h}a	ɕə ɕə	le	ndzə̡	da	ŋu
SELF	lunch	CL	make/cook	DP	drink/eat	come	say
རང་ཉིད	དྲོས་ཛ	ཚད་ཚིག	བཟོ་བ	སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	ཟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	ཟེར
自己	午饭	*量词*	做	*连词*	喝/吃	来	说

'The *ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}* said to her, "Oh, it is very good of you, you come up to help spin hemp for one moment and I'll cook lunch to eat."'

ཚོ་རོ་མེས་མོ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཏ་ཙང་བཟང་པོ་འདུག ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལ་རོགས་བྱས་དང་ང་སོང་ནས་དྲོས་ཛ་གཡོ་སྒྲོར་བྱས་ནས་ཟ་ཞེས་བཤད།

那个措容米对她说: “噢, 你（来得）太好了, 来帮我纺一下(麻), 我去做一点午饭来吃。”

(81)

ka	ɕy	te	go ʑi	ja	n̥a ŋga	q^{h}ʂə̡[A]	ti	ndɛ
DP	went/leave	DP	child	CL	nose	shit	one	CL
སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྱེལ་ཚིག	བྱིས་པ	ཚད་ཚིག	སྣ་བ	སྐྱག་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག
连词	去/走	*连词*	孩子	*量词*	鼻子	屎	一	*量词*

[A] *n̥a^{11} ŋga^{44} q^{h}ʂə̡^{11}* = snot.

(82)

dzə	le	tʰɛ	pæ	to	dʑy	ji	so
eat	DP	she	side	arrive	come	say	MP
ཟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	འགྲམ་དུ	སླེབ་པ	ཡོང་བ	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
吃	*连词*	她	边	到达	来	说	*语气*

'It was said after (tsʰo[11] ro[44] mi[11]) left (to fix lunch), one child came and arrived at her side, eating one piece of snot.'
(ཚོ་རོ་མེས་དྲོས་ཟ་གཡོ་སྒྱུར་བྱེད་དུ)ཕྱིན་པ་ན་བྱིས་པ་ཞིག་མོའི་འགྲམ་དུ་འོངས་ནས་སྣ་ལུད་དུམ་བུ་ཞིག་ཟ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྡད།
(措容米)走后, 一个孩子吃着一块鼻屎来到她面前。

(83)

te	nɛ	ma ja	qʰa	ɕy	a da	qʰa	ɕy	ŋu	te
DP	your	mother	where	went	father	where	went	say	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཨ་མ	གང་ན	ཕྱིན་པ	ཨ་ཕ	གང་ན	ཕྱིན་པ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	你	妈妈	哪儿	去	爸爸	哪儿	去	说	*连词*

(84)

jo	a da	ma ja	te	ʂ̥u	pʁu ȵi	o	ȵi
SELF	father	mother	DP	metal	steamer	there	steam
རང་ཉིད	ཨ་ཕ	ཨ་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལྕགས	ཁོ་ཚག	དེ་ནི	རླངས་བཙོ་བྱེད་པ
自己	爸爸	妈妈	*连词*	铁	卜尼笼	那儿	蒸

(85)

nu	tʁu	dzə	ji	ŋu
you	kill	eat	say	say
ཁྱོད	གསོད་པ	ཟ་བ	བཤད་པ	བཤད་པ
你	杀	吃	说	说

'Then (the girl) asked, "Where did your father go, where did your mother go?" then (the child) said, "My father and mother are steaming the metal steamer there and saying (they) will kill you to eat."'

དེ་ནས། (བུ་མོ་དེས་འདྲི་རྒྱུར།) ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཕ་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་མ་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཟེར། (དེ་ནས་ཚོ་རོ་མའི་བྱིས་པ་དེས་བཤད་རྒྱུར།) ངའི་ཨ་ཕ་དང་ཨ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱོད་བསད་ནས་ཁོ་ཚག་ལས་རླངས་བཙོ་བྱས་ནས་ཟ་རྒྱུ་རེད་ཟེར།

（她就）问: “你爸爸去哪儿了？妈妈去哪儿了?”（小孩）说: “我的爸爸妈妈在准备蒸笼, 说要把你杀来吃。”

(86)

o	pæ	ro	sə
MP	run	PT	again
ཚིག་སྟེགས	རྒྱུག	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
语气	跑	*去时*	又

'Oh, (the girl) ran again.'

ཨོ། (བུ་མོ་འདི)་ཡང་བསྐྱར་བྲོས།

哦, (小女孩)撒腿就跑了。

(87)

te	ʂ̥ə	qa qa	m̩	ji	tɕa	pæ	te
DP	die	almost	AVM	one	CL	run	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤི་བ	ཕལ་ཆེར	བྱེད་ཚིག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	死	大概	*副标*	一	*量词*	跑	*连词*

(88)

sa	nda	ti	jy	ɕɛ	lo	ʁu pʁu	ro	sə
hemp	weave	one	CL	family	GOAL	meet	PT	again
སོ་རོ་མ་ར་ཙ	འཐག་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ལས་ཚིག	འཕྲད་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
麻	编织	一	*量词*	家庭	*目词*	遇见	*去时*	又

'Then (she) ran for a period of time, (which made her) almost die and met again one hemp-weaving family.'

(མོ་)ཤི་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཡུད་ཙམ་བརྒྱུགས་པ་ན་ཡང་བསྐྱར་སོ་མ་ར་ཙ་འཐག་བཞིན་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་དང་འཕྲད་སོང་།

她气喘吁吁地跑了一会儿，又碰到了一家织麻的人家。

(89)

sa	nda	ti	jy	lo	ʁu pʁu	te
hemp	weave	one	CL	GOAL	meet	DP
སོ་མ་ར་ཙ	འཐག་པ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	འཕྲད་པ	*སྦྱོར་ཚིག*
麻	纺织	一	*量词*	*目词*	遇见	*连词*

(90)

k^hɣ̩	m̩	da	jo	ʁo ʁo	ti	t^hʁu	lo	m̩	da
quick	AVM	come	SELF	help	one	CL	GOAL	do	come
མགྱོགས་པ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ཡོང་བ	རང་ཉིད	རོགས་རམ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	བྱེད	ཡོང་བ
快	*副标*	来	自己	帮忙	一	*量词*	*目词*	做/干	来

(91)

jo	dzo̩ ga	ɕə ɕə	da	dzə	da	ŋu
SELF	lunch	make/cook	come	eat	come	say
རང་ཉིད	དྲོས་ཇ	བཟོ་བ།གསོ་སྐྱོར	ཡོང་བ	ཟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	བཤད་པ
自己	午饭	做	来	吃	来	说

'(She) met one hemp-weaving family and (ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) said, "Quickly, come help for one moment, I will go cook lunch and bring (it here and we will) come to eat."

(མོ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་)སོ་མ་ར་ཙ་འཐག་བཞིན་པའི་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་ཞིག་དང་འཕྲད་པ་ན། (སོ་མ་ར་ཙ་འཐག་བཞིན་པའི་ཚོ་རོ་མེས་)མགྱོགས་པོར་ང་ལ་རོགས་རམ་བྱོས་དང་། ང་དྲོས་ཇ་གསོ་སྐྱོར་བྱེད་དུ་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བཤད།

碰上一家织麻的人家, (门口的措容米) 说: “快点来，帮我干一下吧, 我（去）做一点午饭来吃。”

(92)

te	ta	ti	ja
DP	thus/like this	one	CL
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་འདྲ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག
连词	这样	一	*量词*

(93)

ɳ̥a ŋga	q^hʂ̥ə	na	tʂ̥^{h}ə	le	ha	to	dʑy	ro	sə
nose	shit	and	squeeze	DP	here	arrive	come	PT	again
སྣ་	སྐྱག་པ	དང	བཙིར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ཐོན་པ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
鼻子	屎	和	揉	*连词*	这儿	到达	来	*去时*	又

'Again, like this, one child squeezed a ball of snot, arrived and came here again.'

ཡང་བསྐྱར་བྱིས་པ་ཞིག་གིས་སྣ་ལུད་རྡོག་ཅིག་ཁྱེར་ནས་འདིར་ཡོང་།

然后, 又有一个同样的(小孩)揉着一块鼻屎来到这里。

(94)

ma	di	ro	sə	ŋu	ka
NEG	right	PT	again	say/think	DP
དགག་སྒྲ	འགྲིག་པ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར	བསམས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
否定	对	*去时*	又	说/想	*连词*

(95)

pæ	le	li	dʑy	te	ɛ qo	li	to	ro	ji	so
run	DP	back	come	DP	home	back	arrive	PT	say	MP
རྒྱུག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	སླེབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་སྟེགས
跑	*连词*	回	来	*连词*	家	回	到达	*去时*	说	*语气*

'Then (the girl thought) again it was not right and ran back and arrived back and came (to her) home.'

(དེ་ནས་བུ་མོ་དེས་བསམས་པར་འདི་)ཡང་འགྲིག་མ་སོང་སྙམ་ནས་ཕྱིར་བརྒྱུགས་ནས་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ཐོན།

(小女孩)想: "不对头了," 就(又从那户人家)跑回来就到了家。

(96)

ɛ qo	li	to	ti	ha	ka	mi ʑi mo	ti	ja	ʂə qo
home	back	arrive	one	night	DP	brother	one	CL	die
ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	གཅིག	མཚན་མོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕུ་བོ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཤི་བ
家	回	到达	一	晚上	*连词*	哥哥	一	*量词*	死

'At (the) night (the daughter) arrived back at home; one (of her) brothers died.'

(མོ)ཕྱིར་(ཡུལ་ལ་)ཐོན་པའི་མཚན་མོ་དེར་(མོའི་)སྤུན་ཞིག་འདས་སོང་།

回到家的那个晚上, (她的)一个弟弟死了。

(97)

ʂə qo	n̥u	te	ũ ndʑə	t^{h}ɛ	li	zə̥	ma	na
die	after	DP	old man	she	back	acknowledge	NEG	would
ཤི་བ	རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	རྒན་པོ	མོ	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ
死	后	*连词*	老头子	她	回	认	*否定*	想/肯

'After (her brother) died, the old man (Father) would not acknowledge her back (as his daughter).'

(མོའི་སྤུན་)འདས་རྗེས། ཨ་ཕ་དེས་(མོ་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན་པ་)ཁས་ལེན་ན་མ་འདོད།

(一个弟弟)死后, 爸爸不肯认她。

(98)

mæ	te	ũ ndʑə	te	t^{h}e	da	t^{h}i	ji
later	DP	old man	DP	she	DAT	like this	say
རྗེས	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	རྒན་པོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མོ	*ལ་དོན*	འདི་ལྟར	བཤད་པ
后来	*连词*	老头子	*连词*	她	*与格*	这样	说

'Later the old man told her like this…'

རྗེས་སུ་རྒན་པོ་དེས་མོར་འདི་ལྟར་བཤད།

后来, 老头子给她这样说。

(99)

ʁu ʂə	nu	o ljo	do mo	tɕʰə ta
first	you	up there	above	from
དང་ཐོག	ཁྱོད	ཡར་ན	ཐོག་ཏུ	ནས
首先	你	上面	上面	从

(100)

ɕə	n̥i	tɕʰɛ	tɛ	ka	mʙu lɛ	o mo	mi	tɕʰə
log	two	CL	cut	DP	roll	down there	GOAL	SUF-COM
ཤིང	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གཙོད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	འགྲིལ་བ	མར་ན	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*
木头	二	*量词*	砍	*连词*	碌	下面	*目词*	*后体*

(101)

ha	ba dʙy	li	dʑa	te
here	flat place	back	EXT	DP
འདི་ན	ཐང་བདེ་ས	ཕྱིར	*ལས་མཐུན*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
这儿	平地	回	*存在*	*连词*

(102)

ɕə	tʰi	n̥i	tɕʰɛ	li	a	m̩ m̩	m̩	ŋu
wood	DET	two	CL	back	INT	close	MP	say
ཤིང	*ངེས་ཚིག*	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	*འདྲི་ཚིག*	ཐག་ཉེ་བ	*ཚིག་སྐྱེགས*	བཤད་པ
木头	*限词*	二	*量词*	回	*疑问*	合	*语气*	说

'(He) said, "First, you cut a log (into) two (pieces) and roll (them) down from up here[A] and see if (the two pieces are) close (to each other or not) in a flat place (where they stop rolling)."'
(ཁོས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཐོག་མར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཤིང་རྡུམ་ཞིག་དུམ་བུ་གཉིས་སུ་བཏང་ནས་འདི་ནས་མར་འགྲིལ་ཏེ། དེ་གཉིས་ཐང་བདེ་ས་ཞིག་ནས་སྡོད་དུས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་ཐག་ཉེ་མིན་ལྟོས་ཟེར།
“首先，你到(山)上砍两节木头，(将他们从山坡山)滚下来，到平地时看两节木头能否合在一起。”

[A] If the two pieces rolled down the mountain and stopped rolling so that the two sawed ends were against one another, it would indicate that she was his true daughter.

(103)

m̩ m̩	ro	ha	ũ ndʑə	tʰi	gy̩	li	zə̩	ma	na
close	PT	DP	old man	DET	CL	back	acknowledge	NEG	would
ཐག་ཉེ་བ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ
合	*去时*	*连词*	老头子	*限词*	*量词*	回	认	*否定*	想/肯

'(The two pieces of the log were) close (to each other but the) old man would not acknowledge (her) back.'
(ཤིང་དུམ་དེ་གཉིས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་)ཐག་ཉེ་སོང་། འོན་ཀྱང་རྒན་པོ་དེས་ད་དུང་(མོ་)ཁས་མ་བླངས།
(两节木头)合(在一起)了, 但是老头子(仍然)不肯认回(自己的女儿)。

(104)

mæ	te	nu	ro tʰo	n̥i	mo pʰa	mʁu lɛ	o mo	mi	tɕʰə
later	DP	you	millstone	two	CL	roll	down there	GOAL	SUF-COM
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	རང་འཐག	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	འགྲིལ་བ	མར་ན	ལས་ཚིག	འདས་རྗེས
后	*连词*	你	石磨	二	*量词*	滚	下面	*目词*	*后体*

(105)

te	ha	ba dʁy	ʁo	li	a	m̩ m̩	m̩	ŋu
DP	here	flat place	LOC	back	INT	close	MP	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ཐང་བདེ་ས	གནས་གཞི	ཕྱིར	འདྲི་ཚིག	ཐག་ཉེ་པ	ཚིག་སྙེགས	བཤད་པ
连词	这儿	平地	*方位词*	回	*疑问*	合	*语气*	说

'Later (the old man) said, "You roll two millstone halves down (into the valley) and see if (they) are back close to (each other) or not in the flat place."'
རྗེས་སུ་(རྒན་པོས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འཐག་རྡོ་གཉིས་མར་འགྲིལ་བར་བྱས་ནས་(དེ་གཉིས་)ཐང་བདེ་སར་(ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་)ལ་ཐག་ཉེ་མིན་ལྟོས་ཟེར།
后来, (老头子)说: “你(从山顶)往(山沟)里滚两半石磨, 看(它们)能否在平地上合在一起。”

(106)

li	m̩ m̩	ro	ha	li	zə̡	ma	na
back	close	PT	DP	back	acknowledge	NEG	would
སྦྱིར	ཐག་ཉེ་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྦྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ
回	合	*去时*	*连词*	回	认	*否定*	想/回

'(The two millstone halves) were back close to each other but (the old man still) would not acknowledge (her) back.'

(དེ་གཉིས་ཕན་ཚུན་ལ་)ཐང་ཉེ་ཡང་(རྒད་པོ་དེས་མོ་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན་པ་ད་རུང་)ཁས་ལེན་ན་མ་འདོད།

(两半石磨)合(在一起)了, 但是(他)还是不肯认。

(107)

pʰu mi	ly	la	kʰa	ka
pot	CL	OTM	bake	DP
སླ་ང	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	སྲེག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
锅	*量词*	*宾标*	烤	*连词*

(108)

tsa ræ	ti	ʙu	pʰɕə	o	mi	tɕʰə
saliva	one	CL	spit	there	GOAL	SUF-COM
མཆིལ་མ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	འཕེན་པ	དེ་ནི	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*
口水	一	*量词*	吐	那儿	*目词*	*后体*

(109)

vzə̡	da	ɕy	nu	ŋa	zə mi	dja	di
bubble	come	if	you	I	daughter	BE	say
འཕྱུར་བ	ཡོང་བ	གལ་ཏེ	ཁྱོད	ང	བུ་མོ	*ནི་སྒྲ*	བཤད་པ
起泡	来	如果	你	我	女儿	*判断*	说

'(The old man) took a pot and baked (it) in the hearth and said, "Spit one (bit of) saliva down (into the pot and) if it bubbles, come then, you are my daughter."'

(རྒད་པོ་དེས་)སླང་ང་ཞིག་(ཐབ་ཀར་)བསྲེགས་ནས་(བུ་མོར་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། སླང་ནང་དུ་མཆིལ་མ་ཐུང་ཙམ་ཕོངས་ཞིག གལ་ཏེ་དེ་རུ་ལྦུ་བ་འཕྱུར་ཡོང་ན་ཁྱོད་ངའི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

(老头子在灶火上)烤了一个锅, 说: “往里吐一滴口水, 如果溢出来的话, 那你就是我的女儿。”

(110)

vʐə	dʑy	ro	ha	li	ʐə	ma	na
bubble	come	PT	DP	back	acknowledge	NEG	would
འཕྱུར་བ	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ
起泡/溢	来	*去时*	*连词*	回	认	*否定*	想/肯

'Bubbles came (when she spat) but (her father still) would not acknowledge (her) back.'

(ལྦུ་བ་)འཕྱུར་ཡོང་ཡང་(ཁོས་མོ་རང་ད་རུང་)ཁས་ལེན་ན་མ་འདོད།

(口水)溢出来了, 但是(老头子)还是不肯认。

(111)

te	t^{h}ɛ	ma ja	te	ŋa	zə mi	nɛ	a da	ha
DP	she	mother	DP	I	daughter	your	father	also
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	ཨ་མ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ང	བུ་མོ	ཁྱོད	ཨ་ཕ	ཀྱང
连词	她	妈妈	*连词*	我	女儿	你	爸爸	也

(112)

nu	li	ʐə	ma	na	te	mɛ k^{h}a	ro
you	back	acknowledge	NEG	would	DP	at a loss	PT
ཁྱོད	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཐབས་ཟད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*
你	回	认	*否定*	想/肯	*连词*	没办法	*去时*

(113)

ŋa	ha da	q^ha	qo p^hu	su	ti	ga	ti	ja	vi	nu	ko
I	here	all	raise	GEN	one	CL	one	CL	divide	you	give
ང	འདི་ན	ཚང་མ	གསོ་བ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བགོ་བ	ཁྱོད	སྟེར
我	这儿	哪儿/所有	饲养	*属格*	一	*量词*	一	*量词*	分	你	给

(114)

te	ti tsu	m̩	q^ha	lo	q^hy̩ dʑy	te
DP	all	AVM	where	GOAL	make noise	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མཉམ་དུ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	གང་ན	*ལས་ཚིག*	འུར་རྒྱག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
连词	一起	*副标*	哪儿	*目词*	叫唤	*连词*

(115)

nu	q^ha	lo	dʁu	ma	di
you	where	GOAL	become/marry	MP	say
ཁྱོད	གང་ན	*ལས་ཚིག*	འགྱུར་བ། གཉེན་བསྒྲིགས	*ཚིག་སྣེགས*	བཤད་པ
你	哪儿	*目词*	成为/结婚	*语气*	说

'Then her mother said, “My daughter, your father also will not acknowledge you back (as his daughter, and I am) at a loss, so I will divide (our property) and give you one of each kind of all I raise here and then (you leave) and marry where all (the livestock) make noise."'

(བུ་མོ་དེའི་)ཨ་མས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ངའི་བུ་མོ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཨ་ཕས་ཀྱང་ཁྱོད་(རང་གི་བུ་མོ་ཡིན་པ་)ཁས་ལེན་ན་མ་འདོད་པས་ང་ལའང་ཐབས་ཇུས་མི་འདུག ངས་འདི་ན་(ང་ཚོས་)གསོས་པའི་(སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་)རེ་རེ་ཁྱོད་ལ་བགོས་ནས་སྟེར། དེ་ནས། (སྒོ་ཕྱུགས)འདི་ཚོ་ཚང་མས་(ཁྱིམ་ཚང་)ཞིག་གི་(སྒོ་ཁར་)འུར་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་པའི་གནས་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཁྱོད་རང་(འགྲོ་མཚམས་བཞག་ནས་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་དེའི་བུ་དང་)གཉེན་སྒྲིག་བྱས་ཟེར།

这时候, 她妈妈(无可奈何地)说: “我的女儿, 你爸也不肯认你就没办法了, 我这里所养的(家畜)一样给你分一个, (这些家畜)走到哪儿一起都叫唤, 你就去那儿当(那家人的)媳妇吧。”

(116)

ɕy	te	wa ma	ji mi	su dʑa	nda	ro	to	ha
went	DP	EXC	house	attractive	very	LOC	arrive	DP
ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབོད་ཚིག	ཁང་བ	ཡིད་དབང་འཕྲོག་པ	ཧ་ཅང	གནས་གཞི	ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
去	*连词*	*叹词*	房子	漂亮/好看	很	*位格*	到达	*连词*

(117)

ɣi	na	qʰo ræ	tʰi ki	ja bæ	qʰy̩ dʑy	ja bæ	ma	qʰy̩ dʑy
cow	and	goat	these	half	make noise	half	NET	make noise
བ་མོ	དང་སྒྲ	ར	འདི་ཚོ	ཕྱེད་ཀ	ཨུར་རྒྱག་པ	ཕྱེད་ཀ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཨུར་རྒྱག་པ
牛	和	羊	这些	一半	叫唤	一半	否定	叫唤

'(She) went and, *wa*[53] *ma*[53],[A] arrived at (places where there were) very attractive houses, and half of the cows and goats made noise but (the other) half didn't make noise.'

དེ་ནས་(མོ་)ལམ་དུ་ཆས་ལ་ཁང་བ་ཧ་ཅང་ཡིད་དབང་འཕྲོག་པ་དག་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་སུ་ཐོན་པ་ན་བ་མོ་དང་ར་ཁྱུ་ཕྱེད་ཀས་ཨུར་སྒྲ་བསྒྲགས་པ་དང་ཕྱེད་ཀས་ཨུར་སྒྲ་མ་བསྒྲགས།

(她)走后，到了有很好看的房子的地方，但是这些牛羊一半叫唤了，而另一半没有叫唤。

(118)

ka	ɣi	na	qʰo ræ	tʰi ki	mæ	mbæ	tɕə tɕə
DP	cow	and	goat	these	later	follow	often/always
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བ་མོ	དང་སྒྲ	ར	འདི་ཚོ	རྗེས	རྗེས་བསྙེགས་པ	ཉིན་རྒྱུན
连词	牛	和	羊	这些	后面	跟随	只是

'Later (she) always followed the cows and goats.'[B]

རྗེས་སུ་(མོ་)རྟག་པར་བ་མོ་དང་ར་མའི་རྗེས་བསྙེགས་ནས་སོང་།

(她)总是跟随着那些牛羊(往前走去)。

[A] An expression of surprise.

[B] She could not stop in these places because her mother had told her to marry in a place where all the livestock made noises.

(119)

te	mbæ	le	o ljo	ʁo	ma ndza	ha dʁy	ly	k^ha rə	te
DP	follow	DP	up there	LOC	corn	shelter	CL	beside	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འགྲོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡར་ན	གནས་གཞི	མ་རྨོས་ལོ་ཏོག	ཁང་པ	ཚད་ཚིག	འགྲམ་དུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	走	*连词*	上面	*方位词*	玉米	房子	*量词*	旁边	*连词*

(120)

ti	ja	ha	li	ma	ndʑə	m̩	k^hy̩ dʑy	ro
one	CL	also/even	back	NEG	leave/remain	AVM	make noise	PT
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	ལུས་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཅུར་རྒྱག་པ	འདས་ཚིག
一	*量词*	也	回	*否定*	留/剩	*副标*	叫唤	*去时*

'Then (the daughter) went and at one corn shelter, all the (the livestock) made noise without even one remaining (not making noise).'

དེ་ནས་(མོ་)ཕྱིན་ནས་མ་རྨོས་ལོ་ཏོག་གི་ཁང་པ་ཞིག་གི་འགྲམ་དུ་སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་ཚང་མས་ཅུར་བརྒྱབ།

跟到一个玉米杆(做成的)茅屋门口时, (那些牛羊)全部都叫唤了。

(121)

te	jo	ma ja	jo	ʂ̥a	su	ŋu	ka
DP	SELF	mother	SELF	tell	GEN	say/think	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	ཨ་མ	རང་ཉིད	བཤད་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བསམ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	自己	妈妈	自己	说	*属格*	说/想	*连词*

(123)

ɣi	na	q^ho ræ	t^hi ki	la	ha	t^ho	dʑo	hĩ
cow	and	goat	these	OTM	here	ABS	EXT	PER
བ་མོ	དང་སྒྲ	ར	འདི་ཚོ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	སྒྲུབ་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	སྐུལ་ཚིག
牛	和	羊	这些	*宾标*	这儿	*肯定*	*存在*	*祈使*

(124)

ka	ha dʁy	t^hi	ly	lo	ly	ɕy	te
DP	shelter	DET	CL	GOAL	watch/see	went	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	ལྟ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	房子	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	看	去	*连词*

(125)

a mi mo	ŋa	ʁu ta	ta	gy̩	da	ha	fo	ji	le
old woman	I	like	like this	CL	only	here	sit	say	MP
རྒན་མོ	ང	འདྲ་བ	འདི་འདྲ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	འདི་ན	སྡོད་པ	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
老婆婆	我	像	这样	*量词*	只是	这儿	趴	说	*语气*

'Then (she) thought, "My mother told me (that this place, where all the livestock make noise, is where I should stay)," and (she) left these cows and goats here, and went into the (corn) shelter to see (have a look) and there was only an old woman, like me,[A] sitting there.'

དེ་ནས། (མོས་)བསམས་རྒྱུར། ངའི་ཨ་མས་ང་ལ་(སྒོ་ཕྱུགས་ཚང་མས་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་པའི་སར་སྡོད་ཅེས་)བཤད་ཟེར་སྐམ་ནས་(མོས་)བ་མོ་དང་ར་འདི་ཚོ་གནས་དེར་བསྐྱུར་ནས་ཁང་བ་དེ་ནང་དུ་ལྟ་བར་ཕྱིན་པ་ན། རྒན་མོ་ང་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་(གཏམ་རྒྱུད་བཤད་མཁན་གྱིས་རང་ཉིད་དཔེར་དྲངས་ནས་སླ་བ་)དེར་བཙོག་འདུག

于是, (她)想: “那是妈妈给我说的,” 让牛羊停下, (自己走进)茅屋去看时只有一个像我一样老婆婆趴在里面。

(126)

te	a zə	nu	ʑi	a	dʑo	ŋu	te
DP	mother-in-law	you	son	INT	EXT	say	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུས་མོ	ཁྱོད	བུ་མོ	འདྲི་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	婆婆	你	儿子	*疑问*	*存在*	说	*连词*

[A] The storyteller described the old woman in the story as being about her age.

(127)

ʑi	te	dʑo	lo	te
son	DP	EXT	MP	DP
བུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	ཚིག་རྫོགས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*连词*	*存在*	*语气*	*连词*

(128)

nu	ŋɛ	ʑi	lɔ	da	ma	qæ	pa	di
you	our	son	watch/like	come	NEG	would	MP	say
ཁྱོད	ང་ཚོ	བུ	ལྟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་ཚིག	ཚིག་རྫོགས	བཤད་པ
你	我们	儿子	看	来	*否定*	想	*语气*	说

'(The girl) asked, "Mother-in-law, do you have sons?" and (the old woman) answered, "(I) have a son but would you come to like our son?"'

(བུ་མོ་དེས་)གྱོས་མོ་ལགས། ཁྱོད་ལ་བུ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། (རྒན་མོ་དེས་)བུ་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཁྱོད་ངའི་བུ་ལ་ལྟ་བར་ཡོང་འདོད་དམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།

（小女儿）问:“婆婆，你有儿子吗?”（婆婆）说:“有儿子，但是你不会看上我们的儿子吧。”

(129)

a wa	jo	no	mi	m̩	lo
EXC	SELF	your	wife	be	MP
འབོད་སྒྲ	རང་ཉིད	ཁྱོད	ཆུང་མ	བཟོ་བ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
叹词	自己	你	妻子	当	*语气*

(130)

ʑi	a	dʑo	su	dja	le	ŋu	te	dʑo	ŋu
son	INT	EXT	GEN	BE	MP	say	DP	EXT	say/answer
བུ	འདྲི་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	ཚིག་རྫོགས	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོད་པ	བཤད་པ
儿子	*疑问*	*存在*	*属格*	*判断*	*语气*	说	*连词*	有	说

'(The girl) said, "*a*[44] *wa*[55], I will be your (family's) wife. Do (you) have sons?" and (the old woman) answered, "(I) have (a son)."'

(བུ་མོས་)ང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བུའི་ཆུང་མ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ཁྱོད་ལ་བུ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། (རྒན་མོས་ང་ལ་བུ་)ཡོད་ཅེས་ལན་བཏབ།

(小女儿对老婆婆)说: “哎呀！我(会)当你们的（儿）媳妇的, (你)到底有没有儿子呀?” (老婆婆)说: “有!”

(131)

gɛ ræ	m̩	a sa	te	li	dʑy	ro	ji	le
real	AVM	later	DP	back	come	PT	say	MP
ངོ་མ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཕྱུང་ཙམ་འགོར་རྗེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་སྙེགས
真	*副标*	后来	*连词*	回	来	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said (the son) really came back (home) later.'

ཕྱུང་ཙམ་འགོར་རྗེས། (མོའི་བུ་)ངོ་མ་ཕྱིར་(ཡུལ་ལ་)ཡོང་བར་གྲགས།

后来, (儿子)真的回来了。

(132)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	o mo	lo	li	dʑy	te
son	DET	CL	down there	GOAL	back	come	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མར་ན	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	下面	*目词*	回	来	*连词*

(133)

la pʰa	m̩	ha dʁy	tʰi	pʰæ	lo	li	lɔ	ka
lean	AVM	shelter	DET	CL	GOAL	back	watch	DP
སྙེ་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཁང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ལྟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
斜	*副标*	茅屋	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	回	看	*连词*

(134)

li	da	ma	na	ro	ji	so	ʂa ndo	ka
back	come	NEG	would	PT	say	MP	shy	DP
ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འདོད་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད་པ	*ཚིག་སྐྱེགས*	ངོ་གནོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
回	来	*否定*	想/肯	*去时*	说	*语气*	羞涩	*连词*

'It was said the son came back from down there (at the doorway) and looked, leaning back into the shelter; (he) was shy and would not come back (inside).'

བུ་དེ་མར་ནས་ཡར་ཡོང་ནས་ངོ་གནོང་སྟེ། མགོ་བོ་ཟུར་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྙེས་ནས་ནང་དུ་ལྟ་བཞིན་ཁང་བའི་ནང་དུ་ཡོང་མ་འདོད།

那个儿子从(门外)回来时, 斜着眼睛一看, (见了她)就羞涩得不肯回来。

(135)

te	su	nu	$tʂ^{h}ə$ mi	m̩	ji	li	da	mɛ	ŋu
DP	people/she	you/your	wife	make/be	say	back	come	MP	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མི། མོ	ཁྱོད	ཆུང་མ	བཟོ་བ	བཤད་པ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*ཚིག་སྐྱེགས*	བཤད་པ
连词	人/她	你	妻子	当	说	回	来	*语气*	说

(136)

te	li	dʑy	te	gi ʑi	ti	$p^{h}ɕə$ $tɕ^{h}y$	tʁu	li	dʑy
DP	back	come	DP	birds	one	bag	trap	back	come
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བྱ	གཅིག	ཁུག་མ	རྙི་རུ་བཟུང་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
连词	回	来	*连词*	鸟	一	包	打/捕捉	回	来

'Then (the old woman) said, "She says (she) will be your wife, come back (inside)," then (the boy) came back (inside) with one bag of trapped birds.'

དེ་ནས་(རྒན་མོས་)མོ་རང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཆུང་མ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཟེར། ནང་དུ་ཤོག་ཅེས་བཤད་པ་ན། (བུ་དེས་)རྙི་རུ་བཟུང་བའི་བྱེའུ་ཁུག་མ་གང་ཁྱེར་ནས་ནང་དུ་འོངས།

(老婆婆) 说: “进来呀! 人家说要当你的妻子,” 于是, 捉了一些鸟进来。

(137)

te	na	zə mi	tʰi	ja	ȵi	mi	lo	tɕʰə
DP	we	girl	DET	CL	ERG	fire	GOAL	make
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང་ཚོ	བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	མེ	ལས་ཚིག	བཟོ་བ
连词	我们	女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*作格*	火	*目词*	生火

(138)

a mi mo	tʰi	gv̩	tʰɛ	ȵi	ta ta	le	mi	tʰi	ko
old woman	DET	CL	she	ERG	carry	DP	fire	GOAL	get warm
རྒན་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	བཟུང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མེ	ལས་ཚིག	མེར་སྲོ་བ
老婆婆	*限词*	*量词*	她	*作格*	抓	*连词*	火	*目词*	烤火

(139)

gi ʑi	tʰi ki	v̩	le	a mi mo	tʰi	gv̩	lo	tɕə
bird	these	roast	DP	old woman	DET	CL	GOAL	give to eat
བྱ	འདི་ཚོ	སྲེག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒན་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	སྟེར
鸟	这些	烧	*连词*	老婆婆	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	给

(140)

te	ɛ	v̩	su	qʰʂə	ha	qʰʂə	le	ŋu
DP	MP	roast	GEN	tasty	also	tasty	MP	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚིག་སྟེགས	སྲེག་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཞིམ་པོ	ཀྱང	ཞིམ་པོ	ཚིག་སྟེགས	བཤད
连词	*语气*	烧	*属格*	好吃/香	也	好吃/香	*语气*	说

'Then our girl made a fire; carried the old woman to get warm by the fire; roasted the birds and gave (them to) the old woman to eat, and then (the old woman) said, "Oh, roasted (bird) is also tasty, tasty."'

དེ་ནས་ང་ཚོའི་བུ་མོས་མེ་བུད་ནས་རྒན་མོ་དེར་མེར་སྲོ་རུ་བཅུག་པ་དང་། བྱེའུ་དག་མེ་ཐོག་ཏུ་བསྲེགས་ནས་(རྒན་མོར་)བྱིན་པ་ན། (རྒན་མོ་དེས་)ཨོ། (བྱ་ཤ་)སྲེག་མའང་ཞིམ་པོ་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད།

然后, 我们的那个小女儿(在茅屋里)生了火, 抱起老婆婆往火边烤, 烧了鸟肉(递)给她吃, (老婆婆) 说: “啊！ (原来)烧的(食物)也香香的呀！”

(141)

mæ	te	t^{h}ε	jo jo	ka	nu	t^{h}i ki	q^{h}a q^{h}a
later	DP	he	with	DP	you	these	where
རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	མཉམ་དུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	འདི་ཚོ	གང་ན
后来	*连词*	他	跟	*连词*	你	这些	哪儿

(142)

tʁu	dʑy	su	dja	ŋu	te	ʂo	ma	na
trap	come	GEN	BE	say	DP	tell	NEG	would
རྙི་རུ་བཟུང་བ	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ནི་སྒྲ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བཤད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ
捕捉	来	*属格*	*判断*	说	*连词*	说	*否定*	想/肯

Later (the girl) was with him (the boy) and asked, "Where did you trap these (birds)?" but (he) would not tell.

རྗེས་སུ། (བུ་མོ་དེ་བུ་དེ་)དང་མཉམ་དུ་སྡོད་དུས། (མོས་)ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ཚོ་གང་ནས་རྙི་རུ་བཟུང་ཡོང་བ་ཡིན་ཞེས་དྲིས་པ་ན་ཁོས་ལན་མ་བཏབ།

后来，(她) 跟着他问: “你这是从在哪儿捕来的?”但是 (他) 不肯说。

(143)

mæ	te	t^{h}ε	n̥i	ʁo	la	la	le	k^{h}i t^{h}o ly
later	DP	she	ERG	needle	CL	OTM	DP	string ball
རྗེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཁབ	ཚད་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐུད་རྡོག
后来	*连词*	她	*作格*	针	*量词*	*宾标*	*连词*	线团

(144)

ʁu ba	zu	ka	la	t^{h}ε	ba	la ka	tʂ^{h}u	ɕy	hĩ
top/end	thread	DP	OTM	he	cloth	edge	insert	went	PER
རྩེ་མོ	བརྒྱུས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	ལྭ་བ	མཐའ	བཙུགས་པ	ཕྱིན་པ	སྐུལ་ཚིག
头/端	穿	*连词*	*宾标*	他	衣服	衣襟	插	去	*祈使*

'Later she took one needle and threaded the string (from the) ball top and inserted (the needle) into his (upper) clothes' edge and let (the string follow the boy) and went (to the place where he had trapped the birds).'
རྗེས་སུ་མོས་ཁབ་ཅིག་སྐུད་རྡོག་ཅིག་གི་སྣེ་མོར་བརྒྱུས་པ་དང་། ཡང་ཁབ་དེ་ཁོའི་ལྭ་བའི་སྣེ་མོར་བཙེམས་ཏེ་འགྲོ་རུ་བཅུག་པས་(སྐུད་པས་བུ་དེ་འགྲོ་སའི་གནས་སུ་ལམ་ཞིག་བཟོས།)
后来，她用一根针穿过一个线团的一端，（把针）插到他的衣襟上去。

(145)

k^hi t^ho ly	t^hi	ly	la	ɛ qo	tɕə ta	ka
string ball	DET	CL	OTM	home	leave	DP
སྐུད་རྡོག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	འཇོག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
线团	*限词*	*量词*	*宾标*	家	放	*连词*

(146)

$t^hɛ$	ɕy	ti zə	te	k^hi	t^hi	ly	$t^hɛ$	ȵi	tɕə
he	went	as long as	DP	string	DET	CL	he	ERG	pull
ཁོ	ཕྱིན་པ	བར་དུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐུད་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཐེན་པ
他	去	只要	*连词*	线	*限词*	*量词*	他	*作格*	拉

(147)

le	ɕy ɕy ɕy	m̩	ɕy	tɕə tɕə
DP	smooth	AVM	went	often/always
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འཇམ་པོ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཕྱིན་པ	ནམ་ཡང
连词	慢慢	*副标*	去	总是

'(She) left the string ball at home and the string was always pulled and went smoothly with him as long as he went.'
(མོས་)སྐུད་རྡོག་དེ་ཁྱིམ་དུ་བཞག་པ་དང་། (ཁོ་)གང་སར་ཕྱིན་ན་སྐུད་པ་དེ་ཡང་ཁོས་འཐེན་ནས་འཇམ་པོར་ཕྱིན་པ་རེད།
把线团放在家里, 只要他一走, 这根线也被他慢慢地拉走。

(148)

ɕy	le	to	ro	to	t^{h}ʁu	te	k^{h}i	t^{h}i	la
went	DP	reach	LOC	reach	when	DP	string	DET	CL
ཕྱིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོན་པ	གནས་གཞི	ཐོན་པ	སྐབས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐུད་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག
去/走	*连词*	到达	*位格*	到达	时候	*连词*	线	*限词*	*量词*

(149)

ma	ʁu ly	m̩	ha	dʑa	ro
NEG	move	AVM	here	EXT	PT
དགག་སྒྲ	འགུལ་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	འདི་ན	ལས་མཐུན	འདས་ཚིག
否定	动	*副标*	这儿	*存在*	*去时*

'(He) went and reached the place (he should) reach, and when the string was here it didn't move (anymore).'

ཁོ་རང་ཉིད་འགྲོ་སའི་གནས་སུ་ཐོན་དུས་སྐུད་པའང་མ་འགུལ།

(他)走到了该到的地方时, 这根线一动也不动地停在那儿了。

(150)

zə mi	t^{h}i	ja	te	k^{h}i	t^{h}i	la	tʂo tʂo	ɕy	tɕə tɕə
girl	DET	CL	DP	string	DET	CL	along	went	often
བུ་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྐུད་པ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྒྱུད་ནས	ཕྱིན་པ	ནམ་ཡང
女儿	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	线	*限词*	*量词*	沿着	去	一直

(151)

te	o tjo	hæ̃	p^{h}u ly	ly	o	ndʑɛ	ji tɕa	ka
DP	over there	gold	island	DP	there	EXT	fact	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕར་ན	དངུལ	གླིང་ཕྲན	ཚད་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ལས་མཐུན	དོན་དངོས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	那儿	金	岛屿	*量词*	那儿	*存在*	原来	*连词*

(152)

tʰi	ly	ʁo	gi ʑi	pʰʂə	o	ndzu
DET	CL	LOC	birds	untie	LOC	EXT
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	གནས་གཞི	བྱ	གྲོལ་བ	གནས་གཞི	ལས་མཐུན
限词	*量词*	*位格*	鸟	解	*位格*	*存在*

'The girl always went along with the string; in fact, there was one gold island there and (he) was untying the birds (taking the birds out of traps) there.'

བུ་མོ་དེས་ནམ་ཡང་སྐུད་པའི་རྗེས་དེད་ནས་ཕྱིན་པ་ན། ཁོ་མ་གཞི་དངུལ་གྱི་གླིང་ཕྲན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེར་ཡོད་པ་ལ། (བུ་དེས་)དེར་བྱ་དག་(རྙི་ལས་)གྲོལ་གྱིན་འདུག

女孩一直沿着这根线走去, 原来在那儿有一块金岛, (他就在)那个岛上解鸟。

(153)

gi ʑi	pʰʂə	li	dʑy	ɳu	te	ɛ qo	li	dʑy
bird	untie	back	come	after	DP	home	back	come
བྱ	གྲོལ་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	རྗེས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
鸟	解套/取	回	来	后	*连词*	家	回	来

'(The boy and girl) came back home after (he finished) untying the birds.'

བྱ་དག་(རྙི་ལས་)གྲོལ་རྗེས་(ཁོ་གཉིས་)ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཡོང་།

(他)把鸟解下来后, (他俩一起)回来了。

(154)

te	ʑi	tʰi	ja	tʰɛ	da	tʰi	ŋu
DP	son	DET	CL	she	DAT	like this	say/speak
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མོ	ལ་དོན	འདི་འདྲ	བཤད་པ
连词	儿子	*限词*	*量词*	她	*与格*	这样	说

'Then the son spoke to her (the girl) like this.'
དེ་ནས་བུ་དེས་བུ་མོར་འདི་སྐད་བཤད།
然后, 儿子对她这样说。

(155)

hũ ɴɢʏ̩	tɕə tʂæ	tɕə tʂæ	ŋu	te	nu	tʰa	qʏ̩ li xi	ma	di
night	OP	OP	say/sound	DP	you	NEG	scare	MP	say
མཚན་མོ	*ལད་ཟློས*	*ལད་ཟློས*	བཤད་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	*དགག་སྒྲ*	སྐྲག་པ	*ཚིག་རྒྱེགས*	བཤད་པ
晚上	*拟声*	*拟声*	说/响	*连词*	你	*否定*	害怕	*语气*	说

'(The boy) said, "At night, don't you be scared when it sounds *tɕə*[11] *tʂæ*[11] *tɕə*[11] *tʂæ*[11]."'
(བུ་དེས་)མཚན་མོར་ཅིའི་ཀྲོད་ཅིའི་ཀྲོད་ཅེས་པའི་སྒྲ་སྒྲོག་པའི་ཚེ་ཁྱོད་འཇིགས་སྣང་མ་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་(བུ་མོར་དེ་ལྟར་)སྨྲས།
“晚上, 叽喳, 叽喳的声音在响时, 你不要害怕。”

(156)

hũ ɴɢʏ̩	te	tɕə tʂæ	tɕə tʂæ	di	ʂ̩ə	ȵi	ha	ma	dʙu	m̩
night	DP	OP	OP	say/sound	seven	day	also/even	NEG	pass	AVM
མཚན་མོ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ལད་ཟློས*	*ལད་ཟློས*	བཤད་པ	བདུན	ཉིན	ཀྱང	*དགག་སྒྲ*	འགྱུར་བ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
晚上	*连词*	*拟声*	*拟声*	说/响	七	天	也/还	*否定*	成为	*副标*

(157)

ji mi	dʑo ma tʰa	ly	dʙu	ro
house	beautiful	one	become/form	PT
ཁང་པ	མཛེས་པ	གཅིག	འགྱུར་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
房子	漂亮/好看	个	成为/形成	*去时*

'At night, *tɕə*[11] *tʂæ*[11] *tɕə*[11] *tʂæ*[11] sounded and, (when) not even seven days had come, one beautiful house formed.'
མཚན་མོར་ཅིའི་ཀྲོད་ཅིའི་ཀྲོད་ཀྱི་སྒྲ་བསྒྲགས་པ་དང་། ཉིན་བདུན་ཡང་མ་འགོར་བར་ཁང་པ་མཛེས་ཤིང་སྡུག་པ་ཞིག་བསྒྲུན་འདུག
晚上, (茅屋周围) 响着叽喳, 叽喳的声音, 还没过七天, 一个好看的房子就(神奇地)形成了。

(158)

te	ts^{h}ɛ tsə	væ	t^{h}a	te	t^{h}ɛ	a mi	te
DP	rape	bloom	when	DP	she/her	mother	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོག་གར	མེ་ཏོག་བཞད་པ	སྐབས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མོ	ཨ་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	油菜	开花	时候	*连词*	她	妈妈	*连词*

(159)

ts^{h}ɛ tsə	rə gy̩	t^{h}i	la	tʂ̻o tʂ̻o	le	ʂ̻u	li	ɕy
rape	road	DET	CL	along	DP	look for	back	went
ཡོག་གར	ལམ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྒྱུད་ནས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འཚོལ་བ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ
油菜	路	*限词*	*量词*	沿着	*连词*	寻找	回	去

'When the time of blooming rape (came), her mother went back along with the rape (flower) road to look for her.'[A]

ཡོག་གར་མེ་ཏོག་བཞད་པའི་དུས་སུ། བུ་མོ་འདིའི་ཨ་མ་ཡོག་གར་གྱི་ལམ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཕྱིར་(རང་གི་བུ་མོ་དེ་)འཚོལ་བར་ཕྱིན།

油菜花开的时节, 她的妈妈就沿着这条油菜路找去。

(160)

t^{h}ɛ	a mi	o	ti	tɕo	ʁa rə	le	li	dʑy
her	mother	there	one	CL	visit	DP	back	come
མོ	ཨ་མ	དེ་ན	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྟ་སྐོར	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ
她	妈妈	那儿	一	*量词*	玩耍	*连词*	回	来

'Her mother visited there (at her daughter's home) one time and came back…'

མོའི་ཨ་མ་(རང་གི་བུ་མོ་སྡོད་པའི་ས་)དེར་ཐེངས་གཅིག་ལ་ལྟ་སྐོར་དུ་ཡོང་རྗེས་ཕྱིར་ཕྱིན།

她的妈妈在(女儿)那儿玩了一趟回来。

[A] It is understood that the mother gave her daughter some rape seed which she scattered throughout her travels after her father refused to acknowledge her.

(161)

li	dʑy	te	a ma	jo	zə mi	nu	li	zə̦
back	come	DP	EXC	SELF	daughter	your	back	acknowledge
ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབོད་སྒྲ	རང་ཉིད	བུ་མོ	ཁྱོད	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ
回	来	*连词*	*叹词*	自己	女儿	你	回	认

(162)

ma	na	su	a mi	te	su qæ	le	ma ʁa	ro	ŋu
NEG	would	GEN	now	DP	rich	DP	very	PT	say
དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ད་ལྟ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱུག་པོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཧ་ཅང	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད་པ
否定	愿意	*属格*	现在	*连词*	富裕	*连词*	否定	*去时*	说

'(The mother) came back and said (to her husband), "*a^{53} ma^{53}*,[A] it was (that) you wouldn't acknowledge my daughter, and now (she) is very rich."'

(བུ་མོའི་ཨ་མ་)ཕྱིར་ཡོང་ནས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཅི་འདྲའི་མཚར་པ་ཡ་འདང་། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་ཕྱིར་ཁས་ལེན་མ་འདོད་པས་ད་ལྟ་(མོ་)ཧ་ཅང་ཕྱུག་ཅེས་བཤད།

回来后, (女儿的妈妈)说: “我的女儿, 你不愿意认的, 现在富得不得了了。”

(163)

ũ ndʑə	t^hi	gy̩	ha	jo	ha
old man	DET	CL	also	SELF	also
རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང་།འང	རང་ཉིད	ཀྱང་།འང
老头子	*限词*	*量词*	也	自己	也

(164)

ti	tɕo	ʁa rə	bɛ	hũ	ro	di
one	CL	visit	go	should	FT	say
གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྟ་སྐོར	འགྲོ་བ	འོས་པ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད་པ
一	*量词*	玩耍	走	应该	*未时*	说

[A] *a^{53} ma^{53}* = an expression of astonishment.

'The old man also said, "I also should go to visit once."'

རྒན་པོ་དེས་ཀྱང་ངའང་ཐེངས་གཅིག་ལ་འགྲོ་འོས་ཞེས་སྨྲས།

老头子也（自不量力地）说: “我也该(到女儿家)去玩一趟呀!”

(165)

te	ũ ndʑə	$t^{h}i$	gy̩	ha
DP	old man	DET	CL	also
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒན་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཀྱང་།འང
连词	老头子	*限词*	*量词*	也

(166)

ts^{h}ɛ tsə	rə gy̩	$t^{h}i$	la	tʂ̥o tʂ̥o	ɕy
rape	road	DET	CL	along	went
ཡོག་གར	ལམ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བརྒྱུད་ནས	ཕྱིན་པ
油菜	路	*限词*	*量词*	沿着	去

'Then the old man also went along the rape (flower) road.'

དེ་ནས་རྒན་པོ་དེའང་ཡོག་གར་གྱི་ལམ་དེ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཕྱིན།

于是, 老头子也沿着这条油菜路(走)去。

(167)

a wo	a wo	nu	hæ̃	q^{h}o bo	ga	da
father	father	you	gold	door	go through	INT
ཨ་མ	ཨ་ཕ	ཁྱོད	གསེར	སྒོ	བརྒྱུད་ནས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
爸爸	爸爸	你	金	门	过/进	*疑问*

(168)

ŋu	q^{h}o bo	ga	le	ŋu
silver	door	through	MP	say
དངུལ	སྒོ	བརྒྱུད་ནས	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས	བཤད་པ
银	门	过/进	*语气*	说

'(The daughter saw him and) asked, "Father, Father, will you go through the gold door or silver door?"'

(བུ་མོས་རང་གིས་ཨ་ཕར་)ཨ་ཕ། ཨ་ཕ། ཁྱོད་གསེར་སྒོ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འགྲོ་འདོད་དམ་དངུལ་སྒོ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འགྲོ་འདོད་ཅེས་དྲིས།

(女儿见爸爸站在门口)便问: “爸爸, 爸爸, 你(想)进金门还是银门?”

(169)

a	bo	li	bo	te	hæ̃	qʰo bo	ma[A]	ga	te	ŋu
since	come	back	come	DP	gold	door	NEG	go through	MP	say
ཡོང་བ	ཡོང་བ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གསེར	སྒོ	*དགག་སྒྲ*	བརྒྱུད་ནས	*ཚིག་སྣེགས*	བཤད་པ
既然	来	回	来	*连词*	金	门	*否定*	过	*语气*	说

'(Then Father) answered, "Since (I already) came, (I) will go through the gold door.'

(ཨ་ཕས་ང་)འདི་ལ་ཐོན་བྱུང་བས་གསེར་སྒོ་ལས་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བཤད།

(爸爸)说: “(既然)来都来了, 还不过金门嘛!”

(170)

te	ɕə	qʰo bo	bɛ	su	mi	n̥a	qa qa
DP	wood	door	fall down	man	GOAL	crash	nearly
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤིང	སྒོ	ལོག་པ	མི	*ལས་ཚིག*	གནོན་པ	ཧ་ལམ
连词	木	门	倒	人	*目词*	压	接近/几乎

(171)

ti	kʰy̩	lo	ga	ɕy
one	CL	GOAL	go through	went
གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ལས་ཚིག*	བརྒྱུད་ནས	ཕྱིན་པ
一	*量词*	*目词*	过/进	去

[A] *ma*^{44} *ga*^{44} or 'not go through', followed by the sound word *te*^{53} emphasizes and suggests "I surely will go through the gold door."

'Then (the daughter) let (him) go through one wooden door, (and the door) nearly fell down and crashed on him.'

དེ་ནས་བུ་མོས་ཁོ་ཏ་ལམ་ལོག་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་ཤིང་སྒོ་ཞིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འགྲོ་རུ་བཅུག

（女儿）却让他往一扇几乎要倒下(来)，压在人(身)上的木门里进去。

(172)

ɛ qo	to	te	a wo	nu	tʂ^{h}ə ʂo	dzə	da	li ȵi	dzə	le	ŋu
home	arrive	DP	father	you	goat	eat	or	yak	eat	MP	say/ask
ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ཁྱོད	ར	ཟ་བ	འདྲི་ཚིག	ནོར	ཟ་བ	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས	བཤད་པ
家庭	到达	*连词*	爸爸	你	羊	吃	疑问	牦牛	吃	*语气*	说

(173)

te	a bo li bo	te	li ȵi	ma	dzə	te	ŋu
DP	since	DP	yak	NEG	eat	DP	say/answer
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོང་ཟིན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནོར	དགག་སྒྲ	ཟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བཤད
连词	既然来了	*连词*	牦牛	*否定*	吃	*连词*	说

'After (Father) arrived (at the daughter's) home, (the daughter) asked, "Father, would you like to eat goat (meat) or yak (meat)?" and (Father) answered, "Since (I already) came, (I) will eat yak (meat)."'

(ཨ་ཕ་)ཁྱིམ་དུ་བསླེབས་རྗེས། (བུ་མོས་)ཨ་ཕ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ར་ཤ་ཟ་འདོད་དམ་ནོག་ཤ་ཟ་འདོད་ཅེས་དྲིས་པ་ན། (ཨ་ཕས་ང་)ཡོང་ཟིན་པས་ནོག་ཤ་ཟ་ངེས་ཞེས་བཤད།

到家里后, (女儿)问: “爸爸, 你想吃羊肉还是牦牛肉？" (爸爸)说: “既然来都来了, 还不该吃牦牛(肉)吧!”

(174)

ts^{h}ə t^{h}o	q^{h}ʂə ʂu	le
lamb	scours	DP
ལུ་གུ	རྣང་བཤལ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
羊羔	腹泻	*连词*

(175)

lo	hɛ	ha	ma	p^ha	ja	tʁu	o	lo	tɕə
GOAL	stand	also	NEG	able	CL	kill	there	GOAL	give to eat
ལས་ཚིག	ལངས་པ	ཀྱང	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	ཚད་ཚིག	གསོད་པ	དེ་ན	ལས་ཚིག	སྟེར་བ
目词	立	也	*否定*	能	*量词*	杀	那儿	*目词*	给

'(The daughter) killed a scoury lamb, that was also unable to stand (because it was so weak) and gave (the lamb's meat) to him to eat.'

(བུ་མོས་)རྐང་བཤལ་བྱུང་ནས་ཡར་ལངས་ནས་ཀྱང་འདུག་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་ལུ་གུ་ཞིག་བཤས་ནས་(དེའི་ཤ་ཁོ་ལ་)བྱིན།

但是, (女儿)杀了只腹泻得站也站不(稳)的羊羔给他吃。

(176)

hũ NGẏ	te	a wo	nu	hæ̃	qæ	jy	da
night	DP	father	you	gold	bed	sleep	or
མཚན་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ཁྱོད	གསེར	ཉལ་ཁྲི	གཉིད་པ	འདྲི་ཚིག
晚上	*连词*	爸爸	你	金	床	睡	还是

(177)

ŋu	qæ	jy	le	ŋu
silver	bed	sleep	MP	say
དངུལ	ཉལ་ཁྲི	གཉིད་པ	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས	བཤད་པ
银	床	睡	*语气*	说

'At night (the daughter) asked, "Father do you want to sleep in the gold bed or silver bed?"'

མཚན་མོར་(བུ་མོས་)ཨ་ཕ། ཁྱོད་གསེར་གྱི་ཉལ་ཁྲི་(སྟེང་དུ་)ཉལ་བསམ་མམ་དངུལ་གྱི་ཉལ་ཁྲི་(སྟེང་དུ་)ཉལ་བསམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།

晚上, (女儿)问: “爸爸, 你睡金床还是银床?”

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ŋa	zə mi	a bo li bo	te	hæ̃	qæ	ma	jy	te	ŋu
I	daughter	since	DP	gold	bed	NEG	sleep	MP	say
ང	བུ་མོ	ཡོང་ཟིན་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གསེར	ཉལ་ཁྲི	*དགག་སྒྲ*	གཉིད་བ	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*	བཤད
我	女儿	既然来了	*连词*	金	床	*否定*	睡觉	*语气*	说

'(Father) said, "My daughter, since (I) came, (I) will sleep in the gold bed."

(རྒད་པོས་)ངའི་བུ་མོ། (ང་འདིར་)ཡོང་ཟིན་པས་གསེར་གྱི་ཉལ་ཁྲི་(སྟེང་དུ་)ཉལ་རིས་ཞེས་བཤད།

（爸爸）说: “我的女儿呀, 既然来都来了, 还不该睡金床吗?”

(179)

mæ	te	hæ̃	qæ	jy	te
later	DP	gold	bed	sleep	DP
རྗེས་མ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	གསེར	ཉལ་ཁྲི	གཉིད་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
后来	*连词*	金	床	睡觉	*连词*

(180)

qæ ræ	qæ ræ	m̩	o	q^{h}æ	ji	le
OP	OP	AVM	there	bite	say	MP
ལད་ཟློས	*ལད་ཟློས*	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	དེ་ན	སོ་རྒྱག་པ	བཤད་པ	*ཚིག་རྫོགས*
拟声	*拟声*	*副标*	那儿	咬	说	*语气*

'It was said that later (he) slept in the silver bed and bit (the silver on the bed) with a *qæ*^{11} *ræ*^{11} *qæ*^{53} *ræ*^{53} sound.'

དེ་རྗེས་(ཕོ་རང་དངུལ་གྱི་)ཉལ་ཁྲི་(སྟེང་)ཉལ་ནས་ཕྱིག་སྒྲ་དང་བཅས་(དངུལ་གྱི་ཉལ་ཁྲི་)ལ་སོ་བརྒྱབ་པར་གྲགས།

说是后来, (他)睡在金床上时在那儿咯吱, 咯吱地在啃(那床上的金子)。

(181)

qæ ræ	qæ ræ	m̩	o	$q^hæ$	te	a wo	nu	t^ha	$q^hæ$
OP	OP	AVM	there	bite	DP	father	you	NEG	bite
ལད་ཟློས	ལད་ཟློས	བྱེད་ཚིག	དེ་ན	སོ་འདེབས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ཁྱོད	དགག་སྒྲ	སོ་རྒྱག་པ
拟声	*拟声*	*副标*	那儿	咬	*连词*	爸爸	你	*否定*	咬

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li	bi	te	jo	nu	ko	di
back	go	DP	SELF	you	give	say
ཕྱིར	འགྲོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རང་ཉིད	ཁྱོད	སྤྲེར་བ	བཤད་པ
回	走	*连词*	自己	你	给	说

'(Father) bit with *qæ*[11] *ræ*[11] *qæ*[53] *ræ*[53] sounds and (the daughter) said, "Father, don't you bite, I will give (silver and gold) to you when you go back (home).'"

(ཁོས་དེ་ལ་སོ་རྒྱག་བཞིན་པ་བུ་མོས་ཐོས་ནས་)མོས་བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཨ་ཕ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དེ་ལ་སོ་མ་རྒྱག (སང་ཉིན་ཁྱོད་)ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་དུས་(ངས་)ཁྱོད་ལ་(གསེར་དང་དངུལ་)སྤྲེར་ཞེས་བཤད།

(他) 正在那儿咯吱, 咯吱地在啃的时候, (女儿) 说: "爸爸, 你不要啃, 回去时我给你。"

(183)

a wo	li	ɕy	ti	ȵi	te
father	back	went	one	CL	DP
ཨ་ཕ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
爸爸	回	去	一	*量词*	*连词*

(184)

a la mbo	ʙu rə	pa mi	ti	bi ʑi	ɕy ɕy	ȵu	te
wasp	snake	frog	one	bag	fill	after	DP
དུག་སྦྲང	སྦྲུལ	སྦལ་བ	གཅིག	ཁུག་མ	ལྡུག་པ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
马蜂	蛇	青蛙	一	包	装	后	*连词*

(185)

dzo̡ ga	dja	ŋu	ka	la	t^hɛ	ko
lunch	BE	say	DP	OTM	he	give
དྲོས་ཟ	ཉི་སྒྲ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཁོ	སྟེར
午饭	*判断*	说	*连词*	*宾标*	他	给

'One day Father went back (got ready to leave, and the daughter) said, "This is (your) lunch," and gave (it) to him after filling one bag up with wasps, snakes and frogs.'

(ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ཨ་ཕ་ཕྱིར་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོག ཡུལ་དུ་)འགྲོ་དུས། (བུ་མོས་ཁོ་ལ་)འདི་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དྲོས་ཟ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་དུག་སྦྲང་དང་སྦྲུལ། སྦལ་བ་དག་ནང་དུ་བཙུག་ཡོད་པའི་ཁུག་མ་ཞིག་ཁོ་ལ་བྱིན།

爸爸回去的那一天, (女儿)装了一包马蜂，蛇和青蛙，便说是(路上吃的)午饭就(交)给了他。

(186)

nu	o tjo	ʁæ qæ	li	to	te
you	over there	pass	back	reach/get	DP
ཁྱོད	ཕར་ན	ཉག་ག	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
你	那儿	山垭口	回	到达	*连词*

(187)

mo	la	ʂ̡ə ka	ɴɢʏ̩ ta	le	dzo̡ ga	dzə	ma	di
horse	OTM	leg	tie	DP	lunch	eat	MP	say
རྟ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	རྐང་བ	སྡོམ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དྲོས་ཟ	ཟ་བ	ཚིག་ཕྲུགས	བཤད་པ
马	*宾标*	腿	系住	*连词*	午饭	吃	*语气*	说

'(The daughter) said, "When you get back to the pass there (between the daughter's home and her parents' home), then tie the horse to your legs and eat lunch."'

(བུ་མོས་)བཤད་རྒྱུར། ཁྱོད་རང་ཕ་གིའི་ཉག་ག་དེར་སླེབ་དུས། རྟ་ཐག་རང་གི་རྐང་པར་བསྡམས་ནས་དྲོས་ཟ་ཟོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

(女儿给他) 说: “你回到 (路上的)那个山垭口时, 把马系到腿上就吃午饭。”

(188)

te	bi ʑi	lo	pʰo	te
DP	bag	GOAL	open	DP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁུག་མ	ལས་ཚིག	ཁ་ཕྱེ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
连词	包	*目词*	打开	*连词*

(189)

a la mbo	bʑi	le	mo	tʰi	pʰa	mi	mdʁu
wasp	fly	DP	horse	DET	CL	GOAL	sting
དུག་སྦྲང	འཕུར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྟ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	རྣུན་པ
马蜂	飞	*连词*	马	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	蛰

(190)

ʁu rə	mo	tʰi	pʰa	mi	tʰʁu	te
snake	horse	DET	CL	GOAL	bite	DP
སྦྲུལ	རྟ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	སོ་རྒྱག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
蛇	马	*限词*	*量词*	*目词*	咬	*连词*

(191)

ũ ndʑə	mo	n̥i	tɕə	le	pæ	ro
old man	horse	ERG	pull	DP	run	PT
རྒད་པོ	རྟ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འདྲུད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྒྱུག	འདས་ཚིག
老头子	马	*作格*	拉/拖	*连词*	跑	*去时*

'(When the Father reached the pass, he) opened the bag, and wasps flew (out) to sting the horse and snakes (came out) to bite the horse, then the old man was pulled by the horse and ran (pulling the old man).'

(ཕོས་ཞག་ག་རུ་)ཁུག་མའི་ཁ་ཕྱེ་བས་དུག་སྦྲང་འཕུར་ཡོང་ནས་རྟ་ལ་བརྣུན་པ་དང་སྦྲུལ་གྱིས་རྟར་སོ་བརྒྱབ། རྒད་པོ་(ཁོ་རང་)རྟས་འདྲུད་ནས་བརྒྱུགས།

(爸爸走到山垭口,）打开包时, 马蜂飞出来蛰马, 蛇爬出来咬马,（马一惊）老头子也就被马拖着跑了。

(192)

ũ ndʑ̥ə	t^hi	gɣ̩	te
old man	DET	CL	DP
རྒད་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(193)

k^hi k^hi	ti	ka	da	ɛ qo	li	to	ji	so
leg	one	CL	only	home	back	arrive	say	MP
རྐང་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་སྐྱེགས
腿	一	*量词*	仅仅	家庭	回	到	说	*语气*

'It was said only a leg of the old man arrived back at home (pulled by the horse).'

རྒད་པོ་དེའི་རྐང་པ་ཡ་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་ཕྱིར་ཁྱིམ་དུ་མ་བསླེབས་པར་གྲགས།

说是只有一支腿(被马拖)回家里。

(194)

a mi mo	t^hi	gɣ̩	te
old woman	DET	CL	DP
རྒད་མོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
老头子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(195)

nu	zə mi	li	zə̥	ma	na	su	ŋu	ka
you	daughter	back	recognize	NEG	would	GEN	say	DP
ཁྱོད	བུ་མོ	ཕྱིར	ཁས་ལེན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདོད་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	བཤད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
你	女儿	回	认	*否定*	愿意	*属格*	说	*连词*

(196)

k^hi k^hi	t^hi	ka	da	$p^hʂə$	o	li	mi ta	ji	so
leg	DET	CL	only	untie	there	back	cremate	say	MP
རྐང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	གྲོལ་བ	དེ་ན	ཕྱིར	སྦྱིན་སྲེག	བཤད་པ	ཚིག་རྫོགས
腿	*限词*	*量词*	仅仅	解开	那儿	回	烧	传说	*语气*

'It was said that the old woman said, "(That is because) you would not acknowledge (your own) daughter," and untied only the leg and cremated (it).'

དེ་ནས་རྒད་མོས་འདི་ནི་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་(རང་གི་)བུ་མོ་ཁས་མ་བླངས་པའི་རྐྱེན་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་རྐང་པ་དེ་(བཅིངས་ལས་)གྲོལ་ནས་སྦྱིན་སྲེག་བྱས་པར་གྲགས།

老婆婆说: “这是你自己不肯认女儿的(报应)啊!" 解开那支腿烧掉了。

THE PUPPY

li^{44} ʙu^{55} ʂə^{11} pə^{53}

(1)

i n̥i a ʂə	te	a da	bi ʑi	n̥i	kʏ̩	dʑo	ji	le
ancient	DP	father	son	two	CL	EXT	say	MP
གནའ་སྔ་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	བུ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	བཤད	ཚིག་སྟེགས
古时候	*连词*	爸爸	儿子	俩	*量词*	*存在*	说	*语气*

'It was said, in ancient times, there were two, a father and a son.'

གནའ་སྔ་མོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཕ་བུ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པར་གྲགས།

传说, 古时候有一对父子。

(2)

a da	tʰi	gʏ̩	te	tʂʰə tɕɛ	ɕy	tɕə tɕə
father	DET	CL	DP	hunt	went	often
ཨ་ཕ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རི་དྭགས་རྔོན་པ	ཕྱིན	རྟག་པར
爸爸	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	打猎	去	经常

'The father often went to hunt.'

ཨ་ཕ་རྟག་པར་རི་དྭགས་བརྔོན་དུ་ཕྱིན།

爸爸经常去打猎。

(3)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	te	tʂʰə n̥o	ti	ja	ʂə ʂə	o	pa	tɕə tɕə
son	DET	CL	DP	puppy	one	CL	take with	there	EXT	often
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཁྲིད་པ	དེ་ན	ལས་མཐུན	རྟག་པར
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	小狗	一	*量词*	牵/带	那儿	*存在*	经常

'The son often took one puppy with (him).'

བུ་ཆུང་གིས་རྟག་པར་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་ཞིག་ཁྲིད་ཡོད།

儿子(在家里)经常牵着一只小狗。

(4)

ti	n̠ʑi	te	a da	tʰi	gy̩	te	tʂʰə tɕɛ	ɕy	ro	sə
one	day	DP	father	DET	CL	DP	hunt	went	PT	again
གཅིག	ཉིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རི་དྭགས་རྔོན་པ	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
一	天	*连词*	爸爸	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	打猎	去	*去时*	又

'One day, the father went to hunt again.'
ཉིན་ཞིག་ལ་ཨ་ཕ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་རི་དྭགས་བརྔོན་དུ་ཕྱིན།
一天, 爸爸又去打猎了。

(5)

tɕɛ tʂʰə	do dʐə	tʰi ki	o ba	te	a da	n̠ʑi	ʂə ʂə	ɕy	ka
hound	big	these	all	DP	father	ERG	take with	went	DP
ཤ་ཁྱི	ཆེ་བ	འདི་ཚོ	ཚང་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཁྲིད་པ	ཕྱིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
猎狗	大	这些	都	*连词*	爸爸	*作格*	带	去/走	*连词*

(6)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	te	tʂʰə n̠ʑo	zə tsə	tʰi	pʰæ	ʂə ʂə	le
son	DET	CL	DP	puppy	small	DET	little	take with	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ཆུང་བ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཁྱེར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	小狗	小	*限词*	量词	带	*连词*

(7)

ɣi na qʰo ræ	lu	tɕə tɕə
livestock	herd	often
སྒོ་ཕྱུགས	འཚོ་བ	རྟག་པར
牛羊	看/放	经常

'All these big hounds were taken and went with his father, so the son often only took the little puppy with (him) to herd livestock.'

ཤ་ཁྱི་ཆེ་བ་ཚང་མ་ཨ་ཕས་ཁྲིད་དེ་ཕྱིན་པས་བུ་ཆུང་གིས་རྟག་པར་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་ཆུང་ཆུང་དེ་ཁྲིད་ནས་ནོར་ལུག་འཚོས།

大的猎狗都被爸爸带走了,儿子经常带着只小狗（在家）放牛羊。

(8)

ti	ȵi	pæ pæ	ti	ly	la	dzo̜ ga	m̩	tɕə tɕə
one	day	rice ball	one	CL	OTM	lunch	make	often
གཅིག	ཉིན	འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ	གཅིག	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*ཡུལ་ཚིག*	དྒོས་ཛ	བཟོ་བ	རྟག་པར
一	天	米饭团	一	*量词*	*宾标*	午饭	做	经常

'Every day, (he) often took one rice ball to make (his) lunch.'

(ཁོས་)རྟག་པར་འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ་གཅིག་དྒོས་ཛ་རུ་ཟོས།

(他)经常每天带一个米饭团充当山上吃的午饭.

(9)

ti	ȵi	ȵi mi gy̩	te	ʑi	t^hi	ja	dzo̜ ga	dzə	$t^hʁu$	te
one	day	noon	DP	son	DET	CL	lunch	eat	when	DP
གཅིག	ཉིན	དྒོས་ཛ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བུ	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	དྒོས་ཛ	ཟ་བ	སྐབས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
一	天	中午	*连词*	儿子	*限词*	*量词*	午饭	吃	时候	*连词*

(10)

$tʂ^hə$ ȵo	t^hi	ja	ha	ŋu ɕy	ky̩ sə	ky̩ sə	ŋa	pæ pæ	ȵu
puppy	DET	CL	also	VOB	OP	OP	I	rice ball	need/want
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ཀྱང	*སྙོང་ཚིག*	*ལད་ཟློས*	*ལད་ཟློས*	ང	འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ	དགོས་པ
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	也	*词壳*	*拟声*	*拟声*	我	米饭团	需要

(11)

ŋa	ȵi zo qo	le	ma ʁa	ro	ŋu
I	hungry	DP	very	PT	say
ང	ལྟོགས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཧ་ཅང	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
我	饥饿	*连词*	很	*去时*	说

'Noon one day, when the son ate lunch, the puppy also said, "*kʏ̩*[11] *sə*[53], *kʏ̩*[11] *sə*[53], I want a rice ball, I am very hungry."

ཉིན་ཞིག་གི་ཉིན་གུང་དུ་བུ་དེས་ཇོས་ཇ་ཟ་སྐབས་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེ་ཀྱང་(ཟུག་ནས་)ང་ཧ་ཅང་ལྟོགས་འདུག ང་ལ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

一天中午，儿子在吃午饭时，这小狗也叫着: “古嘶，古嘶，我要米饭团，我很饿。

(12)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	te	qo tɕʰə	le
son	DET	CL	DP	angry	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལངས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	生气	*连词*

(13)

ŋa	ha	dzə	ma	lu	ro	te	nu	ʂ̩ə	hũ	di
I	also	eat	NEG	enough	PT	DP	you	die	go	say
ང	ཀྱང་།འང	ཟ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	འདང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱོད	ཤི་བ	སོང	བཤད
我	也	吃	*否定*	足够	*去时*	*连词*	你	死	去	说

'The son was angry and said, "I also have not (got) enough to eat, you go die."'

བུ་དེ་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལངས་ནས་ང་ཡའང་འདང་གིན་མེད། ཁྱོད་ཤི་རུ་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

儿子生气地说: “连我也不够吃了, 你去死吧!"

(14)

tʂʰə n̥o	tʰi	ja	ʁu mdʁy	le	ji ji[A]	ta hũ	te
puppy	DET	CL	cry	DP	OP	tonight	DP
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	*རེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ངུ་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	*ལད་ཟློས*	ད་དགོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	哭泣	*连词*	*拟声*	今晚	*连词*

(15)

tsʰo ro mi	nu	tʁu	nu	dzə	da	ʁæ	ji	di
tsʰo ro mi	you	kill	you	eat	come	FT	say	say
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ཁྱོད	གསོད་པ	ཁྱོད	ཟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད	བཤད
措容米	你	杀	你	吃	来	*未时*	说	说

'The puppy cried and said, "*ji*^{44} *ji*^{44}, tsʰo^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} said, tonight, (she) will come, kill you and eat you."'

ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེ་ངུ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡིའི་ཡིའི། ད་དགོང་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡོང་ནས་ཁྱོད་རང་བསད་ནས་ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཟེར་ཞེས་བཤད།

那只小狗哭着说: “咦, 咦, 措容米说今晚要来杀你, 吃你。”

(16)

ʐi	tʰi	ja	tʰi	tʰʁu	te	qʏ̩ li xi	nda	ka	kʰʏ̩ kʰʏ̩ tɕʰa
son	DET	CL	DET	CL	DP	scare	very	DP	quickly
བུ	*རེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*རེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	སྐྲག་པ	ཧ་ཅང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	མགྱོགས་པ
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	害怕	很	*连词*	立即

(17)

a lɛ jo qʰo	tsʰo ro mi	gɛ ræ	m̩	ŋa	dzə	da	ʁæ	ji	djɛ	di
friend	tsʰo ro mi	really	AVM	I	eat	come	FT	say	MP	say/ask
གྲོགས་པོ	ཚོ་རོ་མི	དངོས་ནས	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ང	ཟ་བ	ཡོང་བ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད	*ཚིག་སྙེགས*	བཤད
朋友	措容米	真的	*副标*	我	吃	来	*未时*	说	*语气*	说/问

[A] The sound of crying.

'The son, at this moment, was very scared and quickly asked, "Friend, did tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹ really say (she) will come eat me?"
སྐབས་དེར་བུ་དེ་ཧ་ཅང་སྐྲག་ནས་གྲོགས་པོ་ལགས། ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་དངོས་ནས་ང་ཟ་རུ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རམ་ཞེས་དྲིས།
儿子(听了)很害怕, 立即问道: “朋友, 措容米真的说了要来吃我吗?”

(18)

te	tʂʰə n̥o	tʰi	ja	te	gɛ ræ	m̩	da	ʁæ	ji	ŋu
DP	puppy	DET	CL	DP	really	AVM	come	FT	say	say/answer
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དངོས་ནས	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད	བཤད
连词	小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	真的	*副标*	来	*未时*	说	说

'Then the puppy answered, "(tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said (she) would really come."
དེ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་དངོས་ནས་(ཁྱོད་ཟ་རུ་)ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཞེས་བཤད།
小狗说: “(措容米)真的说了要来。”

(19)

te	qʰa	m̩	ʁæ	ŋa	a da	ha	tʂʰə tɕɛ	ɕy	ro
DP	how/what	do	FT	I	father	also	hunt	went	PT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་འདྲ	བྱེད	མ་འོངས་པ	ང	ཨ་ཕ	ཀྱང	རི་དྭགས་རྔོན་པ	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག
连词	怎样	做	*未时*	我	爸爸	也	打猎	去	*去时*

(20)

ŋa	ti	gy̩	na na	qʰa	m̩	hũ	ro	di
I	one	CL	only	how/what	do	should	PT	say
ང	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ་ན	ཅི་འདྲ	བྱེད	འོས་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད
我	一	*量词*	仅仅	什么	做/办	应该	*去时*	说

'Then, (the son) said, "What will (I) do? My father also went to hunt; only me, what should (I) do?"

དེ་ནས་ཁོས་ངས་ཅི་བྱེད་འོས་པ་རེད། ངའི་ཨ་ཕ་ཡང་རི་དྭགས་བཙོན་དུ་ཕྱིན། ང་ཁོ་ནས་ཅི་བྱས་ན་འོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

然后，(小孩可怜地)说：“那该怎么办，我爸爸也去打猎了，我一个人该怎么办呢?”

(21)

ŋa	jo q^ho	nu	ha	ŋa	ma	ʁo ʁo	te
I	friend	you	also	I	NEG	help	DP
ང	གྲོགས་པོ	ཁྱོད	ཀྱང	ང	*དགག་སྒྲ*	རོགས་རམ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
我	朋友	你	也	我	*否定*	帮忙	*连词*

(22)

væ qæ	q^ha gy̩	ŋa	ʁo ʁo	da	ʁæ	di
other	who	I	help	come	FT	say
གཞན་པ	སུ	ང	རོགས་རམ	ཡོང་བ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	བཤད
别的	谁	我	帮忙	来	*未时*	说

'(The son) said, "My friend, if you also don't help me, then, others, who else will come help me?"'

(བུ་དེས་)ངའི་གྲོགས་པོ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ང་ལ་རོགས་རམ་མི་བྱེད་ན་གཞན་སུ་ཞིག་གིས་ང་ལ་རོགས་བྱེད་དུ་ཡོང་རེས་ཞེས་བཤད།

(小孩想了想)说: “我的朋友, 如果你也不帮我的话, 别的还有谁会来帮我呢?”

(23)

$tʂ^hə$ n̥o	t^hi	ja	te
puppy	DET	CL	DP
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*

(24)

ma	qʏ̩	ma	qʏ̩	li	bi	te	nu	ʂ̩a
NEG	worry	NEG	worry	back	go	DP	you	tell
དགག་སྒྲ	སེམས་ཁྲལ་བྱེད་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	སེམས་ཁྲལ་བྱེད་པ	ཕྱིར	འགྲོ	*སྦྱོལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	བཤད
否定	担心	*否定*	担心	回	去	*连词*	你	说

(25)

ɛ qo	li	to	te
home	back	arrive	DP
ཁྱིམ་ཚང	ཕྱིར	ཐོན་པ	*སྦྱོལ་ཚིག*
家	回	到达	*连词*

(26)

q^{h}a	m̩	hũ	su	nu	ʂ̩a	di
what	do	should	GEN	you	tell	say
ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད་པ	འོས་པ	*འབྲེལ་སྒྲ*	ཁྱོད	བཤད	བཤད
什么/怎么	做/办	应该	*属格*	你	说	说

'The puppy unworriedly said, "Don't worry, don't worry, go back (home and then I will) tell you (what to do), arrive back home, then (I will) tell (you) what you should do."'

ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་སེམས་ཞུར་མེད་པའི་ངང་བཤད་རྒྱུར། སེམས་ཁྲལ་མ་བྱེད། སེམས་ཁྲལ་མ་བྱེད། ཡུལ་ལ་ཐོན་རྗེས་ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་སྒྲུབ་འོས་པ་བཤད་ཟེར།

小狗却不慌不忙地说:“别担心，别担心，回去就跟你说，回到家后给你说该怎么办。”

(27)

t^{h}jo	n̩ʑi	kʏ̩	jo jo	le	ɣi na q^{h}o ræ	o ba	tʁy	li	ɕy
they	two	CL	together	DP	livestock	all	drive	back	went
ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མཉམ་དུ	*སྦྱོལ་ཚིག*	ནོར་ལུག	ཚང་མ	དེད་པ	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན
他们	俩	*量词*	一起	*连词*	牛羊	都	赶	回	去

'They two, together, drove all the livestock and went back (home).'
ཁོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མཉམ་དུ་ནོར་ལུག་ཚང་མ་ཁྲིར་(ཡུལ་ལ་)དེད་ནས་སོང་།
他俩一起把牛羊都赶了回去。

(28)

ʐi	t^hi	ja	qɣ li xi	le
son	DET	CL	scare	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྐྲག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	害怕	*连词*

(29)

ræ	ndzu	ræ	hĩ	ma	p^ha	ro
PRE-ATT	sit	PRE-ATT	stand	NEG	able	PT
འདས་སྔོན	ཙོག་པ	འདས་སྔོན	ལངས་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཐུབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག
前体	坐	*前体*	立	*否定*	能	*去时*

'The son was scared and unable to sit or stand.'
བུ་དེ་སྐྲག་ནས་ཙོག་ནས་འདུག་མ་ཐུབ་ལ་ལངས་ནས་ཀྱང་འདུག་མ་ཐུབ།
孩子害怕得坐立不安。

(30)

$tʂ^h$ə ɳo	t^hi	ja	te	ʐi	t^hi	ja	da
puppy	DET	CL	DP	son	DET	CL	DAT
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལ་དོན
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	儿子/孩子	*限词*	*量词*	*与格*

(31)

nu	ta hũ	te	ɣi	ŋo	qo lo	lo	tsə pæ	hũ	di
you	tonight	DP	cattle	stable	inside	GOAL	hide	go	say
ཁྱོད	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟོག	ཁང་བ	ནང་དུ	ལས་ཚིག	སྦ་བ	སོང	བཤད
你	今晚	*连词*	牛	圈	里面	*目词*	藏	去	说

'The puppy said to the son, "You, tonight, go hide inside the cattle stable."'
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་བུ་ལ་དོ་ནུབ་ཁྱོད་ཟོག་ར་རུ་སྦས་ནས་སྡོད་ཅེས་བཤད།
小狗对孩子说: “今晚, 你到牛圈里面去藏。”

(32)

te	tʂʰə n̥o	tʰi	ja	ʂa	m̩
DP	puppy	DET	CL	tell	AVM
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	བཤད	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
连词	小狗	*限词*	*量词*	说	*副标*

(33)

ɣi	ŋo	qo lo	lo	tsə pæ	ɕy	ro
cattle	stable	inside	GOAL	hide	went	PT
ཟོག	ཁང་བ	ནང	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྦ་བ	ཕྱིན	*འདས་ཚིག*
牛	圈	里面	*目词*	藏	去	*去时*

'Then, the (son) went inside the cattle stable to hide like the puppy said.'
དེ་ནས་(བུ་)དེས་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ཟོག་ར་ནང་དུ་སྦ་རུ་ཕྱིན།
(小孩)按小狗说的藏到牛圈里面去。

(34)

n̥i mi	ʁo	te	ta hũ	te
heart	LOC	DP	tonight	DP
སེམས་པ	*གནས་གཞི*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	དོ་དགོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
心	*位格*	*连词*	今晚	*连词*

(35)

go	dʁu	da	ʁæ	ma	sə	ro	ŋu
what	happen	come	FT	NEG	know	PT	say/think
ཅི་ཞིག	འབྱུང་བ	ཡོང་བ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	*དགག་སྒྲ*	ཤེས་པ	*འདས་ཚིག*	བསམ
什么	出	来	*未时*	*否定*	知道	*去时*	说/想

(36)

ka	ɣi	ŋo	ʁo	tsə pæ	ta
DP	cattle	stable	LOC	hide	EXT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནོག	ཁང་བ	གནས་གཞི	སྦ་བ	ལས་མཐུན
连词	牛	圈	*位格*	藏	*存在*

'In (his) heart, (he) thought "(It is unknown) what will come and happen tonight," and hid in the cattle stable loft.'

(ཁོས་)དོ་ནུབ་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པ་མི་ཤེས་སྙམ་ཞོར་དུ་ནོག་རའི་ནང་དུ་སྦས་ནས་བསྡད།

(小孩) 藏在牛圈楼上，心里想: “今晚不知道会出什么事呀!”

(37)

a za za	m̩	na hũ	dʑy	ro
slow	AVM	dark	come	PT
དལ་མོ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ས་རུབ་པ	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
慢慢	*副标*	天黑	来	*去时*

'Slowly darkness came.'

དལ་གྱིས་ས་རུབ་སོང་།

天慢慢地(变)黑了。

(38)

t^{h}i	t^{h}ʙu	te	ts^{h}o ro mi	t^{h}i	ja	te	puŋ	puŋ	m̩
DET	moment	DP	ts^{h}o ro mi	DET	CL	DP	OP	OP	AVM
ངེས་ཚིག	སྐབས	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མི	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལད་ཟློས	ལད་ཟློས	བྱེད་ཚིག
限词	时	*连词*	措容米	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	*拟声*	*拟声*	*副标*

(39)

ny ny	la	ha	ʑy	o	ʑy	m̩	dʑy	ro	ji	le
breast	OTM	here	thrash	there	thrash	AVM	come	PT	say	MP
ནུ་མ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	རྡུང་བ	དེ་ན	རྡུང་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད	ཚིག་སྟེགས
奶/乳房	*宾标*	这儿	打	那儿	打	*副标*	来	*去时*	说	*语气*

'(It was) said (that) at this moment, ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} used (her) breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came.'
སྐབས་འདིར། ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཡིས་(རང་གི་)ནུ་མས་གང་སར་བརྡུངས་ཞོར་དུ་འོངས།
这时候, 措容米一边用(她那对长长的)乳房到处打, 一边(往牛圈里冲)来。

(40)

ɣi	ŋo	q^{h}o bo	tʁy q^{h}æ	le	qo lo	lo	dʑy	ro
cattle	stable	door	break	DP	inside	GOAL	come	PT
ཟོག	ཁང་པ	སྒོ	གཅོག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ནང	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*
牛	圈	门	打破	*连词*	里面	*目词*	来	*去时*

'(ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) broke the cattle stable door and came inside.'
(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་)ཡིས་ཟོག་རའི་སྒོ་བཅག་ནས་ནང་དུ་ཡོང་།
(措容米)打破牛圈门(冲)了进来。

(41)

qo lo	lo	dʑy	te	ɣi	ȵi
inside	GOAL	come	DP	cattle	ERG
ནང་དུ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཟོག	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*
里面	*目词*	来	*连词*	牛	*作格*

(42)

nu	ta	ŋa	ko	ŋa	ta	nu	ko
you	butt	I	give	I	butt	you	give
ཁྱོད	རྡུང	ང	སྤྲེར	ང	རྡུང	ཁྱོད	སྤྲེར
你	抵撞	我	给	我	抵撞	你	给

(43)

m̩	mɛ ndo	te	li	pæ	ro
AVM	dawn come	DP	back	run	PT
བྱེད་ཚིག	སྐྱ་རེངས་ཐོན་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	རྒྱུག	འདས་ཚིག
副标	天亮	*连词*	回	跑	*去时*

'(tsʰo[11] ro[44] mi[11]) came inside and was butted by the cattle from one to another and (tsʰo[11] ro[44] mi[11]) ran back (when) dawn came.'

(ཚོ་རོ་མེ་)ནང་དུ་ཡོང་སོང་། འོན་ཀྱང་སོར་ཕྱུགས་ནོག་གི་མགོ་བོས་རྡུང་རྡེག་བྱས་ནས་ཡར་མར་གཡུགས་ཏེ། ནམ་ལངས་དུས་ཕྱིར་བྲོས་སོང་།

进来后, 被牛(用角)抵来抵去, 天亮时跑了回去。

(44)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	dzo̩ ga	pæ pæ	do dzə̩	nda	ly	tʂ̩ʰə	ka
son	DET	CL	lunch	rice ball	big	very	one	press	DP
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཇོས་ཟ	བག་ལེབ	ཆེ་བ	ཧ་ཅང	གཅིག	ལས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	午饭	米饭团	大	很	一	捏/做	*连词*

(45)

mæ	ti	n̥i	te	jo jo	ɣi na qʰo ræ	lu	ɕy	ro	sə
next	one	day	DP	together	livestock	herd	went	PT	again
རྗེས་སུ	གཅིག	ཉིན	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འགྲོགས	ནོར་ལུག	འཚོ་བ	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
以后	一	天	*连词*	一起	牛羊	放	去	*去时*	又

'Next day, the son pressed one very big lunch rice ball and (the boy and puppy) went to herd livestock together again.'

ཕྱི་ཉིན། བུ་དེས་འབྲས་རྡོག་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལས་ནས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་(ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་)དེ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ནོག་འཚོ་རུ་ཕྱིན།

第二天, 小孩子做了一个大大的米饭团, 又(跟小狗)一起去放牛羊了。

(46)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	pæ pæ	ti	mo pʰa	qʰæ	tʂʰə ȵo	tʰi	ja
son	DET	CL	rice ball	one	half	crack/divide	puppy	DET	CL
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ	གཅིག	ཕྱེད་ཀ	བགོ་བ	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	米饭团	一	量词	分	小狗	*限词*	*量词*

(47)

mi	tɕə	ka	ŋa	ta hũ	te	qʰa	m̩	ʁæ	ro
GOAL	eat	DP	I	tonight	DP	what	do	FT	PT
ལས་ཚིག	ཟ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད	མ་འོངས་པ	འདས་ཚིག
目词	吃	*连词*	我	今晚	*连词*	什么/怎么	做/办	*未时*	*去时*

(48)

di	ka	mɛ ʙu	pʰæ pʰæ	m̩	ʁu mdʙy	ro
say	DP	tear	stream	AVM	cry	PT
བཤད	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མིག་ཆུ	བཞུར་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ངུ་བ	འདས་ཚིག
说	*连词*	眼泪	簌簌	*副标*	哭泣	*去时*

'The son divided one half of the rice ball down to the puppy to eat and said, "What will (we) do tonight?" and tears streamed (from his eyes).'

བུ་དེས་འབྲས་རྫོག་བགོས་ནས་ཕྱེད་ཀ་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་ལ་བྱིན་ཏེ་དོ་ནུབ་ངས་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱ་ཞེས་བཤད་ནས་(མིག་ཟུར་ལས་)མིག་ཆུ་ཤམ་ཤམ་དུ་བཞུར།

小孩分了一半米饭团给小狗吃后说: “今晚我该怎么办呢?” 就眼泪簌簌地哭了

(49)

tʂʰə ȵo	tʰi	ja	te	ma	qɣ̩	ma	qɣ̩	tʰa	ʁu mdy
puppy	DET	CL	DP	NEG	scare	NEG	scare	NEG	cry
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	སྐྲག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	སྐྲག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ངུ་བ
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	*否定*	害怕	*否定*	害怕	否定	哭泣

(50)

ta hũ	te	nu	mo	ŋo	qo lo	lo	tsə pæ	hũ	di
tonight	DP	you	horse	stable	inside	GOAL	hide	go	say
དོ་དགོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁྱོད	རྟ	ཁང་པ	ནང་དུ	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྦ་བ	སོང	བཤད
今晚	*连词*	你	马	圈	里面	*目词*	藏	去	说

'The puppy said, "Don't be scared, don't be scared and, don't cry; tonight, you go hide inside the horse stable."'

ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་ཁྱོད་སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། དོ་ནུབ་ཁྱོད་རྟ་ར་ནང་དུ་སྦ་བར་སོང་ཞེས་བཤད།

小狗说: “别害怕, 别害怕, 别哭, 今晚你到马圈里面去藏。”

(51)

ta hũ	ha	tʂʰə n̥o	ʂa	m̩	mo	ŋo	lo	tsə pæ	ɕy
tonight	also	puppy	say	AVM	horse	stable	GOAL	hide	went
དོ་དགོང	ཡང	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	བཤད	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	རྟ	ཁང་པ	*ལས་ཚིག*	སྦ་བ	ཕྱིན་པ
今晚	也	小狗	说	*副标*	马	圈	*目词*	藏	去

'That night, (the son) also, like the puppy said, went to the horse stable to hide.'

ནུབ་མོ་དེར་བུ་དེ་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་རྟ་ར་རུ་སྦས།

今晚, (小孩)还是照小狗说的藏到马圈里面去了。

(52)

ta hũ	ha	ji hũ	dʑo m̩
tonight	also	the night before	like
དོ་དགོང	ཀྱང	མདང་དགོང	ལྟར
今晚	也	昨晚	像

(53)

ts^{h}o ro mi	t^{h}i	ja	na hũ	t^{h}ʁu	te
ts^{h}o ro mi	DET	CL	dark	when	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ས་རུབ་པ	སྐབས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
措容米	*限词*	*量词*	天黑	时候	*连词*

(54)

ny ny	do hæ̃	nda	t^{h}i	dʑy	la	ha	ʑy	o	ʑy
breast	long	very	DET	pair	OTM	here	thrash	there	thrash
ནུ་མ	རིང་བ	ཧ་ཅང	ངེས་ཚིག	ཆ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	རྡུང་བ	དེ་ན	རྡུང་བ
乳房	长	很	*限词*	量词	*宾标*	这儿	打	那儿	打

(55)

m̩	mo	ŋo	qo lo	lo	dʑy	ro	sə
AVM	hose	stable	inside	GOAL	come	PT	again
བྱེད་ཚིག	རྟ	ཁང་བ	ནང	ལས་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
副标	马	圈	里面	*目词*	来	*去时*	又

'That night, also like the night before, (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}), when (it was) dark, used (her) very long pair of breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came inside the horse stable again.'

དགོང་མོ་དེར། དེའི་སྔོན་ཉིན་གྱི་དགོང་མོ་དང་འདྲ་བར། ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་མོའི་ནུ་མ་རིང་པོ་ཟུང་གིས་གང་སར་བརྡུངས་ཞོར་དུ་རྟ་ར་ནང་དུ་འོངས།

今晚, 天黑的时候, 措容米也像昨晚一样, 一边用那双长长的乳房到处打, 一边往马圈里(冲)来。

(56)

ʑi	t^{h}i	ja	qv̩ li xi	le	sa	ha	bʑi[A]	ma	ŋa
son	DET	CL	scare	DP	breath	also/even	breathe	NEG	dare
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྐྲག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དབུགས	ཀྱང	འབྱིན་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཕོད་པ
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	害怕	*连词*	气	也	出气	*否定*	敢

[A] *sa*^{11} = breath, *bʑi*^{53} = to breathe.

'The son was (so) scared that he didn't even dare to breathe a breath.'
བུ་དེ་སྐྲག་ནས་དབུགས་ཀྱང་ཕྱིར་གཏོང་མ་ཕོད།
孩子害怕得连气都不敢出。

(57)

$ts^{h}o$ ro mi	$t^{h}i$	ja	ha ʂ̥ə	ta m̩	mo	ȵi	$ts^{h}u$	li	$tɕ^{h}ə$
$ts^{h}o$ ro mi	DET	CL	still	like this	horse	ERG	kick	back	SUF-COM
ཚོ་རོ་མི	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	ད་རུང	འདི་འདྲ	རྟ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	འཕྲུས་རྒྱག་པ	ཕྱིར	*འདས་རྗེས*
措容米	*限词*	*量词*	还是	这样	马	*作格*	踢	回	*后体*

'The $ts^{h}o^{11}$ ro^{44} mi^{11} was still, like this (the same thing happened as the night before), kicked by horses and went back.'
ཚོ་རོ་མི་སྔར་བཞིན་རྟས་འཕྲུས་བརྒྱབ་སྟེ་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་རུ་བཅུག
措容米还是这样被马踢(来踢去的, 天亮时)回去了。

(58)

mæ	ti	ȵi	te	$t^{h}jo$	ȵi	ky̩	jo $q^{h}o$	va qæ	na	jo jo
next	one	day	DP	they	two	CL	friend	other	and	with
རྗེས་སུ	གཅིག	ཉིན	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	གྲོགས་པོ	གཞན་པ	དང	མཉམ་དུ
以后	一	天	*连词*	他们	俩	*量词*	朋友	别的	和	跟随

(59)

le	ɣi na $q^{h}o$ ræ	lu	ɕy	ro	sə
DP	livestock	herd	went	PT	again
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནོར་ལུག	འཚོ་བ	ཕྱིན	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
连词	牛羊	看/放	去	*去时*	又

'The next day, they two went to herd livestock again with other friends.'
ཕྱི་ཉིན། ཁོ་གཉིས་གྲོགས་པོ་གཞན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ནོར་ལུག་འཚོ་རུ་ཕྱིན།
第二天, 他俩又跟别的朋友一起去放牛羊了。

(60)

ʑi	tʰi	ja	kʰy̩ kʰy̩ tɕʰa
son	DET	CL	quickly
བུ	*རེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མགྱོགས་པ
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	立即

(61)

pæ pæ	do dzə̩	tʰi	mo pʰa	qʰæ	tʰɛ	mi	tɕə	ka
rice ball	big	DET	half	crack/divide	it	GOAL	give to eat	DP
འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ	ཆེ་བ	*རེས་ཚིག*	ཕྱེད་ཀ	བགོ་པ	ཁོ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཟ་རུ་འཇུག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
米饭团	大	*限词*	一半	分开	它	*目词*	吃	*连词*

(62)

a lɛ jo qʰo	ta hũ	te	qʰa m̩	ʁæ	ro	di
friend	tonight	DP	how/what	FT	PT	say/ask
གྲོགས་པོ	དོ་དགོང	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཅི་འདྲ	*མ་འོངས་པ*	*འདས་ཚིག*	བཤད
朋友	今晚	*连词*	怎么办	*未时*	*去时*	说

'The son quickly divided the rice ball and gave the bigger half down (to the puppy) to eat and asked again, "Friend, tonight, what will (I) do?"'

བུ་དེས་ལམ་སང་འབྲས་རྡོག་(དུམ་བུ་གཉིས་སུ་)བགོས་ནས་ཆེ་བ་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེར་ཟ་རུ་བཅུག་ནས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་གྲོགས་པོ་ལགས། དོ་དགོང་ངས་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱས་ན་འགྲིག་ཅེས་དྲིས།

小孩立即分了一大半米饭团给它吃, 又问道: “朋友, 今晚该怎么办呢?”

(63)

tʂʰə ȵo	tʰi	ja	ma kʰy̩ ma ta	m̩
puppy	DET	CL	unworried	AVM
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	*རེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*	སེམས་ཁྲལ་མེད་པ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	不慌不忙	*副标*

(64)

ma qʏ̩ ma qʏ̩ nu ta hũ
NEG scare NEG scare you tonight
དགག་སྒྲ སྐྲག་པ དགག་སྒྲ སྐྲག་པ ཁྱོད དོ་དགོང
否定 害怕 *否定* 害怕 你 今晚

(65)

te jo ŋo qo lo lo tsə pæ hũ ŋu
DP sheep stable inside GOAL hide go say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག ལུག ཁང་པ ནང་དུ ལས་ཚིག སྦ་པ སོང བཤད
连词 羊 圈 里面 *目词* 藏 去 说

'The puppy unworriedly said, "Don't be scared, don't be scared, tonight you go inside the sheep stable to hide."'

ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེས་སེམས་ཁུར་མེད་པའི་ངང་སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། དོ་དགོང་ཁྱོད་ལུག་ར་ར་སོང་ནས་སྦོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

小狗却不慌不忙地说: “别害怕, 别害怕, 今晚你到羊圈里面去藏。”

(66)

ɣi na qʰo ræ li zʅa bi tsa ȵu te tʂʰə ȵo tʰi ja
livestock back collect finish after DP puppy DET CL
ནོར་ལུག ཕྱིར སྡུད་པ ཚར་བ རྗེས་སུ སྦྲེལ་ཚིག ཁྱི་ཕྲུག ངེས་ཚིག ཚད་ཚིག
牛羊 回 收 完 以后 *连词* 小狗 *限词* *量词*

(67)

ʂa m̩ jo ŋo qo lo lo tsə pæ ɕy
say AVM sheep stable inside GOAL hide went
བཤད བྱེད་ཚིག ལུག ཁང་པ ནང ལས་ཚིག སྦ་པ ཕྱིན
说 *副标* 羊 圈 里面 *目词* 藏 去

'After (they) finished collecting back the livestock, (the son) went, like the puppy said, inside the sheep stable to hide.'

ནོར་ལུག་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་སྡུད་ཚར་རྗེས། ཕྲུ་དེ་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ལུག་ར་ར་སྦ་རུ་ཕྱིན།

把牛羊收回去后, 按小狗说的藏到羊圈里面去。

(68)

a za za	m̩	na hũ	dʑy	t^{h}ʁu	te	ts^{h}o ro mi	t^{h}i	ja
slow	AVM	dark	come	when	DP	ts^{h}o ro mi	DP	CL
དལ་མོ	*བྱེད་ཚིག*	ས་རུབ་པ	ཡོང་བ	སྐབས་སུ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཚོ་རོ་མི	*ངེས་ཚིག*	*ཚད་ཚིག*
慢慢	*副标*	天黑	来/变	时候	*连词*	措容米	*限词*	*量词*

(69)

ha ʂə	ta m̩	dʑy	ro	sə
still	like this	come	PT	again
ད་དུང	འདི་ལྟར	ཡོང་བ	*འདས་ཚིག*	ཡང་བསྐྱར
还是	这样	来	*去时*	又

'When darkness slowly came, the ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} still came again like this (as before).'

ས་དལ་མོར་རུབ་སྐབས། ཚོ་རོ་མི་སྔར་བཞིན་ཡོང་།

天慢慢地变黑的时候, 措容米还是像以前一样来了。

(70)

ts^{h}o ro mi	jo	ŋo	q^{h}o bo	tʁy q^{h}æ	le	qo lo	lo	dʑy	te
ts^{h}o ro mi	sheep	stable	door	break	DP	inside	GOAL	come	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ལུག	ཁང་བ	སྒོ	གཅོག་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ནང་དུ	*ལས་ཚིག*	ཡོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*
措容米	羊	圈	门	打破	*连词*	里面	*目词*	来	*连词*

(71)

jo	ȵi	nu	ta	ŋa	ko	ŋa	ta	nu	ko
sheep	ERG	you	butt	I	give	I	butt	you	give
ལུག	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	ཁྱོད	རྡུང	ང	སྤྲེར	ང	རྡུང	ཁྱོད	སྤྲེར
羊	*作格*	你	抵撞	我	给	我	抵撞	你	给

(72)

m̩	ta	le	mɛ ndo	te	li	ɕy
AVM	butt	DP	dawn come	DP	back	went
བྱེད་ཚིག	རྡུང་རྡེག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་ལངས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཕྱིན
副标	用头顶	*连词*	天亮	*连词*	回	去

'The ts^h^o[11] ro[44] mi[11] broke the sheep stable door, came inside and was butted, butted to each other by sheep and went back when dawn came.'

ཚོ་རོ་མིས་ལུག་རའི་སྒོ་བཅག་སྟེ་ནང་དུ་ཡོང་བ་ན་ལུག་གིས་ར་རྒྱུ་ཡིས་ཁོ་ལ་རྡུང་རྡེག་བྱས་བས་ནམ་ལངས་དུས་(ཚོ་རོ་མི་)ཕྱིར་ཕྱིན།

措容米打破羊圈门(冲进)来时，被羊（用头）顶来顶去，天亮时就（跑）回去了。

(73)

te	mæ	ti ȵi	dza	ndzə	pi tsa	ȵu	te	t^h^jo	ȵi
DP	next	day	meal	eat	finish	after	DP	they	two
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	རྗེས་སུ	ཉིན	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	ཚར་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོ་ཚོ	གཉིས
连词	以后	天	饭	吃	完	以后	*连词*	他们	俩

(74)

ky̩	jo jo	le	o ljo	po po	ʁo	ɣi na q^h^o ræ	lu	ɕy	ro
CL	together	DP	up there	hill	LOC	livestock	herd	went	PT
ཚད་ཚིག	མཉམ་དུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡར་ན	རི་བོ	གནས་གཞི	ནོར་ལུག	འཚོ་བ	ཕྱིན	འདས་ཚིག
量词	一起	*连词*	上面	山	*位格*	牛羊	放	去	*去时*

'Then, next day, after (they) finished eating a meal they two together went to herd livestock on the hill.'

དེ་ནས། ཕྱི་ཉིན་ཟ་མ་ཟོས་ཚར་རྗེས། ཁོ་གཉིས་མཉམ་དུ་ཡར་རི་མགོར་ནོར་ལུག་འཚོ་རུ་ཕྱིན།

第二天吃完饭后, 他俩一起到山上放牛羊去了。

(75)

ta ȵi	te	pæ pæ	ti	ly	m̩	tʰɛ	ȵi	la	tʂʰə ȵo
today	DP	rice ball	one	CL	AVM	he	ERG	OTM	puppy
དེ་རིང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	འབྲས་ཀྱི་བག་ལེབ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཁོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག
今天	*连词*	米饭团	一	*量词*	*副标*	他	*作格*	*宾标*	小狗

(76)

tʰi	ja	mi	tɕə	ka	a lɛ jo qʰo	ɣi	ŋo	mo	ŋo
DET	CL	GOAL	give to eat	DP	friend	cattle	stable	horse	stable
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	ཟ་རུ་འཇུག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	གྲོགས་པོ	ནོར	ཁང་བ	རྟ	ཁང་བ
限词	*量词*	*目词*	吃	*连词*	朋友	牛	圈	马	圈

(77)

jo	ŋo	o ba	te	ŋa	ȵi	tsə pæ	pi tsa	ro	ŋa	ta hũ	te
sheep	stable	all	DP	I	ERG	hide	finish	PT	I	tonight	DP
ལུག	ཁང་བ	ཚང་མ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང	བྱེད་སྒྲ	སྦ་བ	ཚར་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ང	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
羊	圈	都	*连词*	我	*作格*	藏	完	*去时*	我	今晚	*连词*

(78)

qʰa	lo	tsə pæ	bɛ	ʁæ	ro	di	ʁu mdʁy	ro
where	GOAL	hide	go	FT	PT	say	cry	PT
གང་ན	ལས་ཚིག	སྦ་བ	འགྲོ	མ་འོངས་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད	ངུ་བ	འདས་ཚིག
哪儿	*目词*	藏	去	*未时*	*去时*	说	哭泣	*去时*

'Today, he took the whole rice ball and gave (it all) down to the puppy to eat and said, "Friend, the cattle stable, horse stable and sheep stable were hid in by me, (they are) finished so, tonight, where will I go hide?" and cried.'

དེ་རིང་ཁོས་འབྲས་རྫོག་ཚང་མ་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་ལ་བྱིན་ནས་ཟ་རུ་བཞོར་དུ་གྲོགས་པོ་ལགས། ར་ཁང་། རྟ་ར། ལུག་ར་ཚང་མའི་ནང་དུ་ང་སྦས་ཟིན་པས། དོ་ནུབ་ང་གང་དུ་སྦ་དགོས་ཞེས་བཤད།

今天, 他把整个米饭团都拿给那个小狗吃了, 然后问: “朋友呀, 牛圈, 马圈和羊圈我都藏过了, 今晚, 我到哪儿去藏呢?”于是，哭了起来。

(79)

tʂʰə n̥o	tʰi	ja	te	ha ʂ̩ə	ma kʰɣ̩ ma ta	m̩	ma	kɣ̩	ma	qɣ̩
puppy	DET	CL	DP	still	unworried	AVM	NEG	scare	NEG	scare
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ད་དུང	སེམས་ཁུར་མེད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	སྐྲག་པ	དགག་སྒྲ	སྐྲག
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	还是	不慌不忙	*副标*	*否定*	害怕	*否定*	害怕

(80)

tʰa	ʁu mdʙy	nu	ta hũ	te	ɛ qo	tɔ	ʁo	lo	tsə pæ
NEG	cry	you	tonight	DP	home/family	loft	LOC	GOAL	hide
དགག་སྒྲ	ངུ་བ	ཁྱོད	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱིམ	ཐོག་ཁང	གནས་གཞི	ལས་ཚིག	སྦ་བ
否定	哭泣	你	今晚	*连词*	家	楼	*位格*	*目词*	藏

(81)

hũ	te	a da	li	da	ro	di
go	DP	father	back	come	FT	say
སོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད
去	*连词*	爸爸	回	来	*未时*	说

'The puppy still said unworriedly, "Don't be scared, don't be scared and don't cry and tonight, (you) go hide in (our) family loft, then Father will come back."'

ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེས་སྔར་བཞིན་སེམས་ཁུར་མེད་པའི་ངང་སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། སྐྲག་མི་དགོས། མ་ངུ། ཁྱོད་དོ་དགོང་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཐོག་ཁང་དུ་སྦ་རུ་སོང་དང་། ཨ་ཕ་(དེའི་རྗེས་)ཕྱིར་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་རེད་ཞེས་བཤད།

小狗还是不慌不忙地说: “别害怕, 别害怕, 别哭泣, 今晚你到(我们)家的楼上去藏, 爸爸就要回来了。”

(82)

ɣi na qʰo ræ	li	te	le	dza	ndzə	pi tsa	n̥u	te	tʂʰə n̥o
livestock	back	close	DP	meal	eat	finish	after	DP	puppy
ནོར་ལུག	ཕྱིར	སྒོ་རྒྱག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	ཚར་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག
牛羊	回	关	*连词*	饭	吃	完	以后	*连词*	小狗

(83)

t^hi	ja	q^ha	m̩	hũ	su	$t^hɛ$	da	ʂ̧a	ro
DET	CL	how/what	do	should	GEN	he/him	DAT	tell	PT
རེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཅི་ཞིག	བྱེད	འོས་པ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཁོ	ལ་དོན	བཤད	འདས་ཚིག
限词	*量词*	怎么	做	应该	*属格*	他	*与格*	说	*去时*

'After (the son) finished closing the livestock back (up in the stables) and eating a meal, the puppy told him what (he) should do.'

ནོར་ལུག་དག་ཕྱིར་ཟློག་རར་བཅུག་པ་དང་ཟ་མ་ཟོས་ཚར་རྗེས། ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་ཁོ་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱེད་དགོས་ཚུལ་བཤད།

(他)把牛羊(都)关回(圈里), 吃完饭以后, 小狗就给他说了该怎么办。

(84)

te	qa	ʁo	mi dzə̧	t^ho	li xo	hĩ
DP	hearth	LOC	charcoal	ABS	red	PER
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མེ་ཐབ	གནས་གཞི	སོལ་བ	སྒྲུབ་ཚིག	དམར་པོ	སྐུལ་ཚིག
然后	火灶	*位格*	炭	*肯定*	红色	*祈使*

'"In the hearth, keep the charcoal red."'

མེ་ཐབ་ནང་གི་སོལ་བ་དམར་པོར་གྱུར་དུ་ཆུགས།

“首先, 让火灶里的炭烧的旺旺的。”

(85)

k^ha[A]	ly	la	mi qa	tɕə ta	le
back-basket	one	OTM	down-hearth	put	DP
སླེ་བོ	ཞིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	མེ་ཐབ་ཀྱི་སྨད་ཕྱོགས	འཇོག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
背兜	一	*宾标*	灶下方	放	*连词*

[A] A *k^ha^{11}* is a bamboo container woven of bamboo strips carried on the back. There are two types. The smaller is woven very tightly and used most often to carry corn and rice and to store grain. The larger basket is woven more coarsely and used to carry grass and potatoes.

(86)

ba tsʰə	la	la	do mo	qo ta
clothes	one	OTM	above	cover
ལྭ་བ	གཅིག	ཡུལ་ཚིག	ཐོག་ཏུ	སྒྲིབ་པ
衣服	一	*宾标*	上面	盖

(87)

ndzə bo	ti	tʰʙy	tʰʙy	le	to	ʁo	tɕʰə ta
water	one	CL	carry	DP	loft	LOC	put
ཆུ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	འཁུར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོན་པ	གནས་གཞི	འཇོག་པ
水	一	*量词*	挑	*连词*	楼	*位格*	放

'(The son) carried one pair of buckets full of water and put (them) in the loft.'
(བུ་དེས་)ཆུ་(ཟོ་བ་)དོ་ཁུར་ནས་ཐོག་ཁང་དུ་བཞག
“然后, 挑一担水放在楼上。”

(88)

qʰo bo	ky̩ tsə ky̩ tsə	m̩	tʂə ta	ka	ŋa	ky̩ sə	ky̩ sə	ŋu
door	tight	AVM	bolt	DP	I	OP	OP	say
སྒོ	དམ་པོ	བྱེད་ཚིག	རྒྱག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང	ལད་ཟློས	ལད་ཟློས	བཤད
门	紧	*副标*	顶	*连词*	我	*拟声*	*拟声*	说/叫唤

(89)

ɕy	a da	li	dʑy	su	dja	nu	qʰo bo	pʰo	ŋa	pjaŋ	pjaŋ
if	Father	back	come	GEN	BE	you	Door	open	I	OP	OP
གལ་ཏེ	ཨ་ཕ	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཉི་སྒྲ	ཁྱོད	སྒོ	ཁ་ཕྱེ་པ	ང	ལད་ཟློས	ལད་ཟློས
如果	爸爸	回	来	*属格*	*判断*	你	门	打开	我	*拟声*	*拟声*

(90)

ŋu	ɕy	tsʰo ro mi	dʑy	su	dja	qʰo bo	tʰa	pʰo	di
say	if	tsʰo ro mi	come	GEN	BE	door	NEG	open	say
བཤད	གལ་སྲིད	ཚོ་རོ་མེ	ཡོང་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	ཉི་སྒྲ	སྒོ	དགག་སྒྲ	ཕྱེ་པ	བཤད
说/叫唤	如果	挫容米	来	*属格*	*判断*	门	*否定*	打开	说

'(The puppy) said, "Bolt the door tightly, and if I say, *kỵ*^{11} *sə*^{53} *kỵ*^{11} *sə*^{53}, then it is Father coming back and you open the door," (and the puppy) said, "if I say *pjaŋ*^{44} *pjaŋ*^{44}, then it is ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} coming, so don't open the door."'
(ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་)གིས་སྒོ་དམ་པོར་རྒྱོབ་ཅིག ག་ལ་སྲིད་ངས་ཀུའུ་སུའུ། ཀུའུ་སུའུ་ཞེས་བཤད་ན་སྒོ་ཕྱེ་དང་། དེ་ནི་ཨ་ཕ་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་བའི་རྟགས་ཡིན། ག་ལ་ཏེ་ངས་པའེ་ཡིད། པའེ་ཡིང་ཞེས་བཤད་ན་སྒོ་མ་ཕྱེ། དེ་ནི་ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡོང་བཞིན་པའི་རྟགས་ཡིན་ཞེས་བཤད།
“把门紧紧地顶住, 如果我叫'咕嘶-咕嘶-'的话是爸爸回来了, 你就开门, 如果我叫'表-表-'的话是措容米来的（警报）, (你)别开门。”

(91)

dza	ndzə	ȵu	te	ʑi	t^{h}i	ja	te	tʂ^{h}ə ȵo	ʂa
meal	eat	after	DP	son	DET	CL	DP	puppy	say/tell
ལྡུཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	བཤད
饭	吃	以后	*连词*	儿子/小孩	*限词*	*量词*	*连词*	小狗	说

(92)

m̩	q^{h}o bo	tʂə ta	ka	tɔ	ʁo	tsə pæ
AVM	door	bolt	DP	loft	LOC	hide
བྱེད་ཚིག	སྒོ	རྒྱག་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཐོག་ཁང	གནས་གཞི	སྦ་བ
副标	门	顶	*连词*	楼	*位格*	藏

'After (they) ate a meal, the son bolted the door and hid in the loft like the puppy said.'
ཟ་མ་ཟོས་རྗེས། བུ་དེས་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་སྒོ་དམ་པོར་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ཐོག་ཁང་དུ་སྦས།
吃完饭后, 小孩就照小狗说的把门顶住之后藏在楼上。

(93)

hũ ɴɢʏ̩	te	tʂ^{h}ə ȵo	t^{h}i	ja	pjaŋ	pjaŋ	di	q^{h}ʏ̩ dʑy	ro
night	DP	puppy	DET	CL	OP	OP	say	make sound	PT
དགོང་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལད་ཟློས	ལད་ཟློས	བཤད	ཅུར་རྒྱག་པ	འདས་ཚིག
晚上	*连词*	小狗	*限词*	*量词*	*拟声*	*拟声*	叫	叫唤	*去时*

'At night, the puppy made the sound *pjaŋ*^{44} *pjaŋ*^{44}.'
མཚན་མོར་ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་གིས་པའེ་ཡིང་། པའེ་ཡིང་ཞེས་ཟུག
晚上, 那只小狗'表-表-'地叫了。

(94)

te	hũ NGẙ	te	tsʰo ro mi	tʰi	ja	ny ny	la	ha	ʑy
DP	night	DP	tsʰo ro mi	DET	CL	breast	OTM	here	thrash
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མཚན་མོ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མེ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ནུ་མ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	འདི་ན	རྡུང་བ
连词	晚上	*连词*	挫容米	*限词*	*量词*	乳房	*宾标*	这儿	打

(95)

o	ʑy	m̩	dʑy	ro	sə	le
there	thrash	AVM	come	PT	again	S
དེ་ན	རྡུང་བ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར	འབོད་ཚིག
那儿	甩打	*副标*	来	*去时*	又	语气词

'Then, at night, tsʰo^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} used (her) breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came again.'
དེ་ནས་དགོང་མོར་ཚོ་རོ་མེས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ནུ་མས་གང་སར་བརྡུངས་ཞོར་དུ་འོངས།
晚上，措容米又摇动着乳房, 左右甩打着来了。

(96)

qʰo bo	tʰɛ	ȵi	pʰo	le	qo lo	lo	dʑy	te	kʰa
door	she	ERG	open	DP	inside	GOAL	come	DP	kʰa
སྒོ	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཕྱེ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནང་དུ	ལས་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སླེ་བོ
门	她	*作格*	打破	*连词*	里面	*目词*	来	*连词*	背兜

(97)

tʰi	ly	tʰɛ	dja	tʂa	ka	ȵi mi xi	le	ma ʁa	ro
DET	CL	he	BE	think	DP	happy	DP	very	PT
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ཁོ	ཉི་སྒྲ	བསམ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དགའ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཧ་ཅང	འདས་ཚིག
限词	*量词*	他	*判断*	想/以为	*连词*	高兴	*连词*	很	*去时*

'(The door was opened by her and she came inside, then she) thought the back-basket was him (the son) and (she) was very happy.'
(མོས་སྒོ་ཕྱེ་ནས་ནང་ལ་འོངས་ཏེ། སླེ་པོ་དེ་བུ་)དེ་རེད་སྙམ་ནས་ཧ་ཅང་དགའ་པོ་འདུག
(她破门而入), 以为那个背兜是他就非常高兴。

(98)

qa	ʁo	mi dzə̧ k^{h}ə	t^{h}ɛ	n̥i	fu	le	li xo	li xo	ro
hearth	LOC	charcoal	she/her	ERG	blow	DP	red	red	PT
མེ་ཐབ	གནས་གཞི	སོལ་བ	མོ	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཕུ་བཏབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	དམར་བ	དམར་བ	འདས་ཚིག
火灶	*位格*	炭	她	*作格*	吹	*连词*	红	红	*去时*

'The charcoal in the hearth was blown on by her and (became) red.'
མོས་མེ་ཐབ་ནང་གི་སོལ་བར་ཕུ་བཏབ་ནས་དམར་པོར་གྱུར་དུ་བཅུག
她把火灶里的炭吹得红红的。

(99)

te	kɣ̩ rə kɣ̩ rə	m̩	k^{h}a	t^{h}i	ly	ŋɚ	ji	so
DP	OP	AVM	back-basket	DET	CL	chew	say	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལད་ཟློས	བྱེད་ཚིག	སླེ་པོ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ལྡོད་པ	བཤད	ཚིག་སྟེགས
然后	*拟声*	*副标*	背兜	*限词*	*量词*	嚼	说/传说	*语气*

'It was said (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) chewed the back-basket with a *qɣ̩^{11} rə^{11}qɣ̩^{53} rə^{53}* sound.'
ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཡིས་ཀྲུའུ་རུ་ཀྲུའུ་རུའི་སྒྲ་དང་བཅས་སླེ་པོ་འཆས་པར་གྲགས།
说是(措容米)在'咯吱, 咯吱'地咬那个背兜。

(100)

ʑi	t^{h}i	ja	n̥i	tɔ	ʁo	tɕ^{h}ə ta	ja	m̩	ndzə bo
son	DET	CL	ERG	loft	LOC	from	careful	AVM	water
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཐོག་ཁང	གནས་གཞི	ནས	སེམས་ཆུང་	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཆུ
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	*作格*	楼	*位格*	从	小心	*副标*	水

(101)

ȵ̥i ka	qa	mi	tɕʰə	te	ha lɛ	mbæ	tʰa	tsʰə	mbæ
few/a little	hearth	GOAL	SUF-COM	DP	cat	urine	NEG	urinate	urine
ཉུང་ཙང་	མེ་ཐབ་	*ལས་ཚིག*	*འདས་རྗེས*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ཞི་ལ	གཅིན	*དགག་སྒྲ*	གཏོང་བ	གཅིན
一点	火灶	*目词*	*后体*	*连词*	猫	尿	*否定*	洒尿	尿

(102)

tʰa	tsʰə	te	na	ȵ̥i	kɣ̩	jo jo	ɣ̩[A]	ndzə	ŋu
NEG	urinate	DP	we	two	CL	together	roast	eat	say
དགག་སྒྲ	གཏོང་བ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	*ཚད་ཚིག*	མཉམ་དུ	སྲེག་པ	ཟ་བ	བཤད
否定	洒尿	*连词*	我们	俩	*量词*	一起	烧	吃	说

'The son carefully poured a little water onto the hearth from the loft and then (tsʰo[11] ro[44] mi[11]) said, "Cat, don't urinate urine, don't urinate urine, then we two (will) roast (the son's flesh) to eat together."'

(བུ་དེས་)ཐོག་ཁང་ནས་སེམས་ཆུང་སྒོས་མར་ཆུ་ཉུང་ཙམ་བླུགས་པས་ཚོ་རོ་མེ་ཡིས་ཞི་ལ། གཅིན་མ་གཏོང་། གཅིན་མ་གཏོང་དང་ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མཉམ་དུ་(བུ་འདིའི་ཤ་)སྲེག་ནས་ཟ་ཞེས་སྨྲས།

小孩从楼上小心地往火灶里倒了一点水, (措容米就) 说: “哎, 小猫眯呀, 别洒尿, 不洒尿的话, 我俩就一起烧 (这个小孩的肉)来吃噢!”

(103)

te	mi dʐə̩	tʰɛ	ȵ̥i	fu	le	li xo	ȵ̥u	ro	te	ʑ̥i
DP	charcoal	she	ERG	blow	DP	red	after	PT	DP	son
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སོལ་བ	མོ	*བྱེད་སྒྲ*	ཕུ་བཏབ་པ	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	དམར་པོ	རྗེས་སུ	*འདས་ཚིག*	*སྦྲེལ་ཚིག*	བུ
连词	炭	她	*作格*	吹	*连词*	红色	以后	*去时*	*连词*	儿子/孩子

[A] Foods such as potatoes and meat are placed directly on charcoal to cook.

(104)

t^hi	ja	ȵi	ndzə bo	ȵi ka	la	o	mi	$tɕ^hə$	ro	sə
DET	CL	ERG	water	few	OTM	there	GOAL	SUF-COM	PT	again
ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	བྱེད་སྒྲ	ཆུ	ཅུང་ཙམ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	དེ་ན	ལས་ཚིག	འདས་རྗེས	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
限词	量词	作格	水	一点	宾标	那儿	目词	后体	去时	又

(105)

te	ha lɛ	mbæ	t^ha	$ts^hə$	te	na	ȵi	kv̩	v̩	ndzə	ŋu
DP	cat	urine	NEG	urinate	DP	we	two	CL	roast	eat	say
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཞི་ལ	གཅིན	དགག་སྒྲ	གཏོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ང་ཚོ	གཉིས	ཚད་ཚིག	སྲེག་པ	ཟ་བ	བཤད
连词	猫	尿	否定	洒尿	连词	我们	俩	量词	烧	吃	说

'Then, after the charcoal was blown on and reddened by her, the son scooped a little water and poured (it) down (into the hearth), and then (ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) said, "Don't urinate urine then we two (will) roast (the son's flesh) and eat (it)."'

དེ་ནས་སོལ་བ་མོས་ཕུ་བཏབ་ནས་དམར་པོར་གྱུར་རྗེས། བུ་དེས་ཆུ་ཅུང་ཙམ་བཅུས་ནས་མར་བླུགས་པ་ན་མོས་ཞི་ལ། གཅིན་མ་གཏོང་དང་། ངེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་(བུ་འདིའི་ཤ་)སྲེག་ནས་ཟ་ཞེས་བཤད།

然后, 她又把炭吹红以后, 小孩(还是舀了)一点水倒下去, (措容米又)说: “哎呀, 小猫眯, 别洒尿, 我俩烧来吃。”

(106)

ta m̩	fu	le	fu	le	mɛ ndo	te	li	pæ	ro
like this	blow	DP	blow	DP	dawn come	DP	back	run	PT
འདི་འདྲ	ཕུ་བཏབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕུ་བཏབ་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ནམ་ལངས་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	རྒྱུག	འདས་ཚིག
这样	吹	连词	吹	连词	天亮	连词	回	跑	去时

'Like this, (ts^ho^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}) blew and blew and then ran back (when) dawn came.'

འདི་ལྟར་(ཚོ་རོ་མི་ཡིས་)ཡང་ཡང་ཕུ་བཏབ་ནས་ནམ་ལངས་དུས་ཕྱིར་བྲོས།

就这样, (她不停地)吹呀吹, (孩子也不停地倒水,)到天亮的时候(她也)就跑回去了。

(107)

ta n̥i	te	ʑi	t^{h}i	ja	ʁu mdʁy	ro	sə
today	DP	son	DET	CL	cry	PT	again
དེ་རིང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ངུ་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཡང་བསྐྱར
今天	*连词*	儿子/孩子	*限词*	*量词*	哭泣	*去时*	又

'That day, the son cried again.'
ཉིན་དེར་བུ་དེ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་ངུས།
今天(在放牧的时候,)小孩又哭了。

(108)

tʂ^{h}ə n̥o	t^{h}i	ja	ha ʂə	ma k^{h}y̩ ma ta	m̩	t^{h}a	ʁu mdʁy	t^{h}a	ʁu mdʁy
puppy	DET	CL	still	unworried	AVM	NEG	cry	NEG	cry
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	ད་རུང	སེམས་ཁྲལ་མེད་པ	བྱེད་ཚིག	དགག་སྒྲ	ངུ་བ	དགག་སྒྲ	ངུ་བ
小狗	*限词*	*量词*	还是	不慌不忙	*副标*	*否定*	哭泣	*否定*	哭泣

(109)

ta hũ	te	a da	gɛ ræ	m̩	li	da	ro	di
tonight	DP	father	real	AVM	back	come	will	say
དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	དངོས་ནས	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	མ་འོངས་པ	བཤད
今晚	*连词*	爸爸	真实	*副标*	回	来	未来时	说

'The puppy still unworriedly said, "Don't cry, don't cry, tonight your father will really come back."'
ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་དེས་སྔར་བཞིན་སེམས་ཁྲལ་མེད་པའི་ངང་མ་ངུ། མ་ངུ། དོ་དགོང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཕ་དངོས་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད།
小狗还是不慌不忙地说: “别哭, 别哭, 今晚你爸爸真的要回来了。”

(110)

ta hũ	te	a da	gɛ ræ	m̩	li	dʑy	ro	ji	so
carry	DP	father	real	AVM	back	come	PT	say	MP
འཁུར་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	ངོ་མ	བྱེད་ཚིག	ཕྱིར	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	ཟེར	ཚིག་སྙེགས
背	*连词*	爸爸	真实	*副标*	回	来	*去时*	说	*语气*

'Then (they) collected the livestock and went back; Father carried much game and came back.'
དེ་ནས་ཕོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ནོར་ལུག་དེད་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཕྱིན། ཨ་ཕས་ཉིན་དེར་རྫོན་ཤ་མང་པོ་ཁུར་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཡོང་།
(小孩) 把牛羊收回去时, 他的爸爸背着很多猎物回来了。

(111)

ʑi	$t^{h}i$	ja	$k^{h}y̩\ k^{h}y̩\ tɕ^{h}a$	a da	$t^{h}i$	tɕo ta	ka	a da
son	DET	CL	quickly	father	GOAL	hug	DP	father
བུ	ངེས་ཚིག	ཚད་ཚིག	མགྱོགས་པོ	ཨ་ཕ	ལས་ཚིག	འཐམ་འཁྱུད་བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ
儿子	*限词*	*量词*	立即	爸爸	*目词*	拥抱	*连词*	爸爸

(112)

ŋa	$a\ tʂ^{h}a$ ha	nu	li	ma	ndo	ro	ŋu	ʁu mdʙy	ro
I	nearly	you	again	NEG	see	PT	say	cry	PT
ང	ཉ་ལམ	ཁྱོད	ཕྱིར	དགག་སྒྲ	མཐོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད	ངུ་བ	འདས་ཚིག
我	差点儿	你	回/再	*否定*	看见	*去时*	说	哭泣	*去时*

'The son quickly hugged (his) father and said, "I nearly couldn't see you again," and cried.'
བུ་དེས་རང་གི་ཨ་ཕར་འཐམ་འཁྱུད་བྱས་ནས་ཅུང་མིན་ན་ངས་ཁྱོད་མཐོང་མ་ཐུབ་ཅེས་བཤད་དེ་ངུས།
小孩立即抱住爸爸说: “爸爸, 我差点儿就没能见到你了,” 就哭了。

(113)

a da	te	$qo\ tɕ^{h}ə$	le	$ts^{h}o$ ro mi	nda	ŋu	ka	y̩ mi	sə
father	DP	angry	DP	$ts^{h}o$ ro mi	hack	say/want	DP	ax	sharp
ཨ་ཕ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁོང་ཁྲོ་ལངས་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཚོ་རོ་མི	གཙོད་པ	བསམ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྟ་རེ	རྡར་བ
爸爸	*连词*	生气	*连词*	措容米	砍	说/想	*连词*	斧头	磨

'Father was angry, wanting to hack $ts^{h}o^{11}$ ro^{44} mi^{11} and sharpened an ax.'
ཨ་ཕ་ཁྲོས་ཏེ་ཚོ་རོ་མི་(དུམ་བུར་)གཙོད་འདོད་ནས་སྟ་རེ་བརྡར།
爸爸生气得想砍(死)措容米, 就在磨斧头。

(114)

ta hũ	te	dza	dzə	n̥u	te	qa	ʁo	mi	tɕʰə
tonight	DP	meal	eat	after	DP	hearth	LOC	fire	make
དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟ་མ	ཟ་བ	རྗེས་སུ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	མེ་ཐབ	གནས་གཞི	མེ	བཟོ་བ
今晚	*连词*	饭	吃	以后	*连词*	火灶	*位格*	火	烧

(115)

ka	a da	te	y̩ mi	la	qʰo bo	a ky̩ nu	tsə pæ	ta
DP	father	DP	ax	OTM	door	behind	hide	EXT
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཨ་ཕ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྟ་རེ	ཡུལ་ཚིག	སྒོ	རྒྱབ་ཏུ	སྦ་བ	ལས་མཐུན
连词	爸爸	*连词*	斧头	*宾标*	门	背后	藏	*存在*

'Tonight, after eating a meal, (they) made a fire in the hearth, Father took an ax and hid behind the door.'

དོ་དགོང་ཟ་མ་ཟོས་ཚར་རྗེས། (ཁོ་ཚོས་)མེ་ཐབ་ནང་དུ་མེ་བུད་དེ། ཨ་ཕས་སྟ་རེ་(ལག་ཏུ་)བཟུང་ནས་སྒོའི་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་སྦས།

今晚, 吃了饭后, 灶里烧着火, 爸爸拿着斧头藏在门背后。

(116)

tsʰo ro mi	dʑy	le	qʰo bo	pʰo ta	su	ndo	te
tsʰo ro mi	come	DP	door	open	GEN	see	DP
ཚོ་རོ་མི	ཡོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྒོ	ཕྱེ་བ	འབྲེལ་སྒྲ	མཐོང་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག
挫容米	来	*连词*	门	打开	*属格*	看见	*连词*

(117)

hũ	ta hũ	te	dzə	pʰa	ro	ŋu	ka	dʑy	ro
MP	tonight	DP	eat	can	PT	say/think	DP	come	PT
ཚིག་སྙིགས	དོ་དགོང	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཟ་བ	ཐུབ་པ	འདས་ཚིག	བསམ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཡོང་བ	འདས་ཚིག
语气	今晚	*连词*	吃	能	*去时*	说/想	*连词*	来	*去时*

'tsʰo^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11} came, saw the door was open and thought, "Tonight, (I) can eat (the son)," and came.'

ཚོ་རོ་མི་འོངས་ནས་སྒོ་ཕྱེ་ཡོད་པ་མཐོང་རྗེས་དོ་དགོང་(ངས་བུ་དེ་)ཟ་ཐུབ་རྒྱུ་རེད་བསམས།

措容米来了, 见到敞开着的门, 就想"今晚能吃(到这个孩子的肉)了!"

(118)

ts^{h}o ro mi	ʂə ka	ti	ka	q^{h}o bo	qo lo	lo	t^{h}ʁu	te	ʏ̩ mi
ts^{h}o ro mi	feet	one	CL	door	inside	GOAL	step	DP	ax
ཚོ་རོ་མི	རྐང་པ	གཅིག	ཚད་ཚིག	སྒོ	ནང་དུ	ལས་ཚིག	སྤོ་བ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	སྟ་རེ
措容米	腿	一	*量词*	门	里面	*目词*	踩	*连词*	斧头

(119)

la	mi	nda	te	bɛ	mi qa	mi	dʑa	ro
OTM	GOAL	hack	DP	fall	down-hearth	GOAL	EXT	PT
ཡུལ་ཚིག	ལས་ཚིག	གཅོད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ལོག་པ	པང་གཅལ	ལས་ཚིག	ལས་མཐུན	འདས་ཚིག
宾标	*目词*	砍	*连词*	倒	灶下方	*目词*	*存在*	*去时*

'(As soon as) one of ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s feet stepped inside the door, (Father) took the ax and hacked down (on her foot) and (she) fell on the down-hearth.'

ཚོ་རོ་མིའི་རྐང་པ་ཡ་གཅིག་སྒོའི་ནང་དུ་སྤོས་མ་ཐག་(ཨ་ཕས་)སྟ་རེས་རྐང་པ་དེ་བཅད་དེ་(ཚོ་རོ་མི་)པང་གཅལ་སྟེང་དུ་མར་ལོག

措容米的一只脚刚踏入门里面, (爸爸就)用斧头砍下去, (措容米)便倒在了灶下方的(地板上) 。

(120)

te	tɕɛ tʂ^{h}ə	n̥i	zə zə	tɕ^{h}a	le	tɕ^{h}a kʏ̩	ro	ji	le
DP	hound	ERG	fight for	do	DP	swallow	PT	say	MP
སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཤ་ཁྱི	བྱེད་སྒྲ	འཕྲོག་པ	བྱེད་པ	སྦྲེལ་ཚིག	ཁྱུར་མིད	འདས་ཚིག	བཤད	ཚིག་སྣེགས
连词	猎狗	*作格*	抢夺	做	*连词*	咽/吃	*去时*	说	*语气*

'It was said then that the hounds fought (with each other) for (ts^{h}o^{11} ro^{44} mi^{11}'s flesh) and it was swallowed.'

དེ་ནས། ཤ་ཁྱི་དག་གིས་(ཚོ་རོ་མིའི་ཤ་)རྩོད་པ་བྱས་ནས་(མཐར་ཐམས་ཅད་)ཁྱུར་མིད་བྱས་སོ།།

猎狗抢夺着把(她)吃光了。